


PARENTAL PERCEPTIONS OF PLAY: THE INFLUENCES OF PARENT GENDER,
GENDER ROLE ATTITUDES, AND PARENTING STYLES ON PARENT ATTITUDES
TOWARD CHILD PLAY


By


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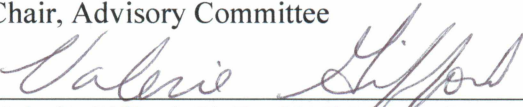
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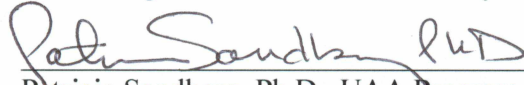

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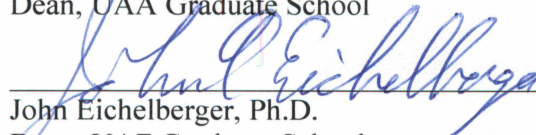

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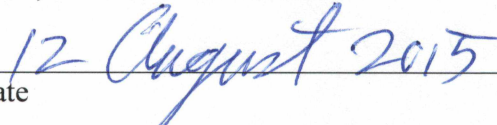

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A

DISSERTATION

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By

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Abstract

The literature overwhelmingly demonstrates that play supports healthy social, emotional, physical, and cognitive development. Efforts to understand parents' support of child play seek to identify parent attitudes toward play, ways in which parents facilitate play for their children, and how they participate in play. Previous findings indicate parent valuation of play is an important factor for childhood play time and finds differences between mothers and fathers in parent-child play. While much research has been done to understand how mothers and fathers play with their sons and daughters, few studies have investigated what factors influence parent valuation of play or facilitate certain types of play. This study used a moderated mediation model to explore how parental attitudes about gender roles influence perceptions of play through parenting style and how this effect may be different for fathers and mothers. Analyses were also performed to understand the relationships between parent attitudes and parent play behaviors. The findings suggested egalitarian gender role attitudes predicted a higher valuation of play and more permissive mindsets toward cross-gender play for both mothers and fathers. Conversely, traditional gender role attitudes were predictive of less permissive mindsets toward cross-gender play for both mothers and fathers. A moderated mediation was found for fathers with traditional gender role attitudes and a permissive or authoritarian parenting style. Fathers with traditional gender role attitudes and a permissive parenting style were less likely to value play for child development. Fathers with traditional attitudes and an authoritarian parenting style had less permissive mindsets toward cross-gender play. Additionally for both mothers and fathers, authoritative parenting was correlated with increased parent play behaviors, while authoritarian parenting was correlated with decreased parent play behaviors. These findings support previous literature in that parent gender and gender role attitudes do appear to influence parent attitudes

toward play. They also contribute to our understanding of parent gender differences and the way that parenting style influence this relationship. In addition, parenting style was found to be a facilitator of parent-child play. These findings contribute to an understanding of what kind of parents value play and can be used to inform family psychotherapy and parent education about play.

Table of Contents

	Page
Signature Page.....	i
Title Page	iii
Abstract.....	v
Table of Contents	vii
List of Tables	xi
List of Figures.....	xiii
List of Appendices.....	xv
Chapter 1: Brief Overview of the Study	1
Significance of the Study	3
Significance of gender differences in play	4
Problem Statement.....	7
Chapter 2: Literature Review	11
Parenting Attitudes	11
Attachment.....	12
Parenting styles	14
Attachment and parenting styles	15
Cultural considerations in parenting	17
Gender	21
Parenting and gender	23
Effects of gender role expectations	25
Gender effects and parenting attitudes	28

Gender effects within parent-child dyads	29
Parenting gender effects for child development	31
Parenting in same-sex couples	32
Play	35
Play in child development	36
Parent-child play and secure attachment	38
Play therapy	40
Family play therapy	41
Parenting, Gender, and Play	44
Parental perceptions of play	45
Gender effects in play	46
Parent-child play dyads	47
Gender socialization in play	48
Summary of the Literature	52
Chapter 3: Research Design and Methodology	55
Overarching Research Question and Design	55
Sample Characteristics	57
Procedure	58
Measures	60
General gender role attitudes	60
Gender role attitudes in childrearing	60
Parenting attitudes and styles	61
Parent perceptions of play	63

Data analytic plan	65
Chapter 4: Results.....	69
Data Screening	69
Descriptive statistics.....	69
Correlation analysis	71
Regression analysis	74
Moderation mediation analysis.....	77
Chapter 5: Discussion	85
Summary of Results in Support of Hypotheses.....	85
Implications	92
Limitations	97
Conclusion	100
References	103
Appendices.....	137

List of Tables

	Page
Table 1. Means and Standard Deviations for Gender Role Attitudes and Parenting Style	70
Table 2. Means and Standard Deviations for Parent Attitudes Toward Play	72
Table 3. Correlations Between Variables of Interest	76
Table 4. Direct Effect of Egalitarian Gender Role Perspectives on Parent Perceptions of Play ...	78
Table 5. Direct Effect of Traditional Gender Role Perspectives on Parent Perceptions of Play ...	79
Table 6. Indirect Effect of Traditional Gender Role Perspectives on Valuation of Play for Child Development through Parenting Style	80
Table 7. Indirect Effect of Traditional Gender Role Perspectives on Mindset Toward Cross- Gender Play through Parenting Style	82
Table 8. Indirect Effect of Traditional Gender Role Perspectives on Physically Rough and Make- Believe Play through Parenting Style	82

List of Figures

	Page
Figure 1. Parental Gender Role Attitudes Influence Perceptions of Play as Mediated by Parenting Attitudes/Style and Moderated by Parent Gender	56
Figure 2. The Indirect Effect of X (Parent Gender Role Attitudes) on Y (Perceptions of Play) through the Mediator M (Parenting Style) path c' and the Moderating Effects of W (Parent Gender) on the Mediating Paths \hat{a}_1 and \hat{b}_1	67
Figure 3. Traditional Gender Role Attitudes Indirect Effect on Perceptions of Play through Parenting Style and Moderated by Gender	83

List of Appendices

	Page
Appendix A: Web Addresses for Social Networking Sites for Recruitment.....	137
Appendix B: Advertisement for Participation	138
Appendix C: Informed Consent.....	139
Appendix D: Email Invitations Script.....	141
Appendix E: Demographic Questions	142
Appendix F: Debriefing Script.....	144
Appendix G: Gender Role Measures	145
Appendix H: Parenting Styles Questionnaire	149
Appendix I: Parent Play Beliefs.....	155

Chapter 1: Brief Overview of the Study

It is well established that parenting is a tremendously important contributor to child development. The trajectory of physical, cognitive, and emotional development are dependent on the environment in which a child develops. Parents are generally the gatekeepers of their child's environment and thereby are instrumental in shaping early childhood experiences and development. The earliest parent-child interactions are the very foundation of attachment, a bidirectional process of relating that fundamentally shapes brain development influencing psychosocial, emotional, and physical functioning into adulthood (Schorer, 1994). Notably, secure attachment has been correlated with certain parent characteristics and parenting styles (Karavasilis, Doyle, & Markiewicz, 2003; Neal & Frick-Horbury, 2001) confirming that parenting practices are important to child development and worthy of continued investigation. Parenting practices are influenced by parent attitudes toward childrearing, including attitudes of demandingness or responsiveness (Baumrind, 1971). Parenting attitudes contribute to the manner in which parents interact with their children. Among the many parent-child interactional patterns are play based interactions, which are widely recognized by early childhood and play experts as inherently valuable to child development. Play shapes physical, cognitive, and emotional development (e.g., Panksepp, 1998; Pellis et al., 2006); and research indicates that parent characteristics can impact child play time (e.g., Fisher, Hirsh-Pasek, Golinkoff, & Gryfe, 2008; Freeman, 2007). Much of the research on attachment and childhood playtime has been done with the mother-child dyad. However, efforts to expand our understanding of gender differences in parenting have led to research examining both paternal and maternal contributions to child development (e.g., Carlson, 2006; Grossmann et al., 2002; Kochanska & Aksan, 2004; Lamb, 1997a; Russell et al., 1998; Smetana, 1995) and play (e.g., Jacklin, DiPietro, & Maccoby,

1984; Langlois & Downs, 1980; MacDonald & Parke, 1984; Sullivan, 2003). Gender differences and gender role expectations in parenting contribute to differences in parenting attitudes and behaviors (e.g., Rosen & Rothbaum, 1993; Russell et al., 1998; Smetana, 1995; Winsler, Madigan, & Aquilino, 2005), and influence children's psychosocial and emotional development (e.g., Aldous & Mulligan, 2002; Gryczkowski & Jordan, 2010; McHale, Bartko, Crouter, & Perry-Jenkins, 1990), and gender role development (Coltrane, 2000; Eccles, Jacobs, & Harold, 1990). Together, general parent attitudes toward child rearing and gender role expectations influence parenting practices. The current study focuses on the influence of these parental attitudes, expectations, and practices on perceptions of play.

Documented gender differences in parenting attitudes and parent-child play suggest that parent gender and parental perceptions of child gender roles may also influence perceptions of play and socialization of gender roles (e.g., Freeman, 2007). It is important to note that in this study the term "gender" is used in reference to parent's self-identified gender (female, male), and in general refers to the sociocultural construct of gender rather than the biological construct of sex. Understanding how parent gender and gender role expectations influence perceptions of play as explained by parenting style would contribute to the child development field through expanding knowledge about how gender role development is manifested in important family interactions. This information also has important clinical relevance and could guide family play interventions in psychotherapy. For example, child psychologists use play therapy to treat a variety of childhood disorders and problems. Parents are often included in treatment to facilitate emotional and behavioral change through strengthening the attachment relationship. Understanding which types of parents value play will help mental health professionals understand how to better explain the importance of play to parents and engage them in treatment.

Parents who already value play will likely need less education about the benefits of play, whereas parents who do not value play may need considerable education. Understanding how parent gender, gender-role attitudes, and parenting style all influence parent valuation of play will help professionals work within the parents' cultural framework and gently challenge certain assumptions about play and child development facilitating increased productive therapeutic change. In addition to therapeutic benefits, this information can also help establish community-based interventions. In the last several years, initiatives such as *Lets Move* (Lets Move, 2014) and *Get Out and Play Every Day* (Alaska Department of Health and Social Services, 2012) campaigns have targeted child obesity through promoting play. Parents construct their child's early environment; therefore, it is important for professionals and policy makers to better understand how to promote play to parents. A better understanding about what kind of parents value play and promote play could help professionals better educate parents about the many reasons play is important for children.

Significance of the Study

There is evidence that parental beliefs influence the way that parents construct their child's environment and even organize items in the home such as toys, daily schedules, and social interactions (McGillicuddy-De Lisi, 1982; Palacios, Gonzalez, & Moreno, 1992). Other research has found that parental values and behaviors might conflict and adults' personal beliefs and attitudes are not always the most useful predictor of parenting behaviors (Brody, Douglas, & Gibson, 1999; Holden & Edwards, 1989). For example, Freeman (2007) found that parents indicated that they wanted their children to have equal opportunities in play, education, and professional careers, and generally be free from gender stereotypes. However, they conflictingly indicated also wanting their children to behave in gender typed ways in play. It is possible,

therefore, that parental gender attitudes and attitudes about child sex-roles may be unconsciously incongruent at times and may be influenced by other factors.

It is clear that parental gender role expectations affect parenting and influence both parenting style and play behaviors. Cross cultural findings underscore the importance of understanding gender differences as consistent patterns of parenting has emerged among mothers and fathers cross-culturally (Bornstein, Putnick, & Lansford, 2011). Moreover, research indicates that these differences matter in unique way for daughters and sons at times (Gryczkowski & Jordan, 2010; McHale et al., 1990). Specifically, McKinney and Powers (2012) found that positive parenting contributed to more perceived childhood playtime for daughters than sons. Thus, understanding the many factors that influence parental attitudes toward parenting and play is complex. Although parenting beliefs are not always the best predictor of parent behavior, understanding the relationship between parent gender role expectations and parenting style could provide more information about the ways in which beliefs do influence parenting behavior. Previous research has shed light on this connection; for example, positive parenting beliefs toward play impact the amount of childhood playtime for children (e.g., Fisher et al., 2008), and mothers' beliefs about certain developmental issues in middle and late childhood influence their teaching behaviors with their children (Sigel & Kim, 1996). These findings suggest that, while there may be several factors contributing to parental behaviors, parent beliefs are an important contributor. Formulating a better understanding of how parent gender and gender role expectations might influence parenting attitudes would provide more information about what kind of parents encourage play.

Significance of gender differences in play. Play is an important and critical part of achieving healthy social, emotional, physical, and cognitive functioning. In fact, experts from

various disciplines to include anthropology, medical sciences, education, human development, mental health, and animal sciences are in agreement that play is vital for overall healthy development (e.g., Brown, 2010; Frost, Wortham, & Reifel, 2011; Singer, Golinkoff, & Hirsh-Pasek, 2009). Research has looked at various kinds of play such as pretend play, social play, rough-and-tumble play, and structured versus unstructured play, in order to better understand how play influences growth in non-human animals and humans alike. These scientific inquiries into the function of play have led to a strong literature base supporting the necessity of play for optimal development (e.g., Cooper, Schwarzenegger, & Proctor, 1999; Gayler & Evans 2001; Gordon, Burke, Akil, Watson, & Panksepp, 2003; Janz, Dawson, & Mahoney, 2000; Kalish, 1995; Lindsey & Colwell 2013; Niec & Russ, 2002; Noland, Dewalt, McFadden, & Kotchen, 1990; Panksepp, 1998; Pellis et al., 2006; Pellis and Pellis, 2001; Pica, 2003). In addition to its many developmental contributions, play experiences contribute to how children construct their understanding of the world and learn to socially engage their environment. Renowned play researcher and educator Stuart Brown (2010) describes this process in this way, “play’s process of capturing a pretend narrative and combining it with the reality of one’s experience in a playful setting is, at least in childhood, how we develop our major personal understanding of how the world works” (p. 36). This perspective is a testament to the very important role of play for social development and eventually even personality formation.

Many studies confirm gender effects within parent-child play (e.g., Langlois & Downs, 1980; MacDonald & Parke, 1986; Kazura, 2000; MacDonald & Parke, 1984). There is some evidence to suggest that parental contributions to child development through play differ and that play experiences with both mothers and fathers is equally important (Grossmann et al., 2002). For example, Sullivan (2003) found that father’s play contributions were especially important for

children with internalizing problems and father's engagement in fantasy play correlated with better overall adjustment, whereas mothers' peer-like play was predictive of both social competence and general adaptation for children. Research also indicates that child gender influences parental play behaviors. Parents sometime engaged in different play interactions based on child gender and perceive certain kinds of play to be more appropriate within certain parent-child dyads (e.g., Gleason, 2005; Freeman, 2007; Jacklin et al., 1984; Langlois & Downs, 1980; Lindsey & Mize, 2001). Freeman (2007) found that young children believe their parents will disapprove of cross-gender play, suggesting that parents may influence gender role socialization in play and through expressed attitudes about play.

Some studies have observed gender differences within parent-child gender play dyads. These include differences in the amount of parent-child play time engaged in as fathers have been found to engage in more play with children than mothers (e.g., Kazura, 2000; MacDonald & Parke, 1986). These also include differences in parental perceptions of specific types of play. Parents both encourage and discourage types of play based on perceptions of developmental value, harmfulness, or even personal feelings of discomfort with certain kinds of play (e.g., Costabile, Genta, Zucchini, Smith, & Harker, 1992; Fisher et al., 2008; Holmes, 2011). For example, mothers who perceived certain play activities to have a learning value rated their children as engaging in more play than mothers who did not perceive the play to have learning value (Fisher et al., 2008). Thus, mothers who perceived certain kinds of play activities to be valuable cultivated an environment that encouraged that kind of play. Although research documents the benefits of play, little is known about what kinds of parents encourage play and what parent characteristics influence attitudes toward play. Additionally, there is little

information providing insight into how parent gender and parent perceptions of child gender roles interact to influence perceptions of play.

Problem Statement

Parenting and play are both important facilitators of healthy development in children and each has been demonstrated to influence adjustment (e.g., Baumrind, 1971; Baumrind, 1991b; Hirsh-Pasek, Golinkoff, Berk, & Singer, 2009; L'Abate, 2009; Singer et al., 2009; Van Dalen, 1947). In fact, the absence of play in an individual's childhood can profoundly and negatively impact adjustment into adolescence and adulthood and lead to extremely maladaptive behaviors (Brown, 2010). Similarly, parenting attitudes are foundational to parenting styles and can either support healthy emotional and social development or contribute to poor social adjustment and emotional distress (Baumrind, Larzelere, & Owens, 2010; Karavasilis et al., 2003).

Gender role attitudes influence parent level of involvement (e.g., Coltrane, 2000), parent attitudes (Lu & Chang, 2013), parent-child interactions (e.g., Langlois & Downs, 1980; Leaper, 2000) and attitudes toward play (Morris, 2013). Play contributions of both mothers and fathers is important for social and emotional development (Sullivan, 2003) and for secure attachment (Grossmann et al., 2002; Kerns & Barth, 1995). Understanding gender differences in parental attitudes toward play is valuable as beliefs and attitudes do have some influence on parent behaviors (McGillicuddy-De Lisi, 1982; Palacios et al., 1992; Sigel & Kim, 1996).

Literature supports the theory that egalitarian parents have less gender-typed expectancies for parenting and are more likely to share child-care duties more equally (e.g., Coltrane 2000; Riina and Feinberg, 2012). Research finding also suggest that egalitarian parenting is high in acceptance and warmth (Lu & Chang, 2013; Witt, 1997). This may suggest that parents with egalitarian gender role attitudes place less restrictions on behaviors related to social roles and

have more open attitudes allowing children to explore and express themselves in play. For example, in measuring mother's perceptions of their children's play for scale development purposes, Morris (2013) found that mothers with more traditional gender role attitudes had more rules for their child's play, imposed more conditions on play, and were more likely to value adult-controlled play over child-controlled play. On the other hand, mothers with more egalitarian gender role attitudes were more likely to allow child-autonomy and less likely to control their children's play activities. Based on these findings, parents with egalitarian gender role attitudes may inherently place more value on play for child development and be more open to cross-gendered play.

Just as gender role expectations may influence parental perceptions of play, so might parenting styles. Research findings demonstrate that parents whose parenting style is high in both parental control and warmth are more likely to have securely attached children (e.g., Karavasilis et al., 2003; Neal & Frick-Horbury, 2001). Securely attached infants have caregivers who play more with them and are more actively engaged in play (Kiser, Bates, Maslin, & Bayles, 1986; Slade, 1987). This research suggests that parents who have a parenting style high in both parental control and warmth may play more with their children and find more value in playing with them. Morris (2013) found that mothers with authoritative parenting styles, defined as high in both parental control and warmth, have less rules and restrictions for their children's play. These mothers were also less likely to have expectations and rules for gender typed play. Jointly, these finding indicate that parenting style may explain attitudes toward play, and that parents with a parenting style high in parental control and warmth may value play more than parents with alternate parenting styles.

Finally, research indicates that gender role attitudes and parenting beliefs influence general parenting behaviors and play behaviors for fathers more so than for mothers. For example, Riina and Feinberg (2012) found that fathers with more egalitarian attitudes toward gender roles were more involved in child care and better adjusted overall than fathers with traditional gender role attitudes. However, egalitarian gender role attitudes did not increase mothers' participation or overall adjustment in parenting. Additionally, mothers' participate equally in masculine-typed play with sons and daughters whereas fathers are more likely to perpetuate sex-typed play with their children (Jacklin et al., 1984; Lindsey & Mize, 2001; MacDonald & Parke, 1984). It is likely that the same would be true for parent perceptions of play in that gender role attitudes and parenting style might be found to more strongly influence fathers' perceptions of play over mothers.

The current study explored how parental attitudes about gender roles influence perceptions of play as mediated by parenting style and moderated by gender. That is, this research investigated the relationship between parent gender role attitudes and parents' perceptions of and valuation of child play, how parenting style may explain this relationship, and whether or not this relationship is influenced by parent gender (see Figure 1). It is important to note the term "gender" in this study is used in reference to participants' self-identified gender (female, male), and in general refers to the sociocultural construct of gender rather than the biological construct of sex. In addition to the main hypotheses, further exploration was done to understand how parent attitudes correlated with parent engagement in play.

The research objective was to understand (1) how parents' gender role attitudes influence perceptions of and the value they place on their children's play (2) how parenting style may

explain this relationship (3) and how parent gender may impact the relationships among the above variables. Following were the main hypotheses for the study:

H1) Parents with egalitarian gender role attitudes would be more likely to place higher value on child play

H2) Parenting style would mediate the relationship between gender role attitudes and parent perceptions of play

H3) Parent gender would moderate this relationship; specifically, the relationship between gender role attitudes and parent perceptions of play, as mediated by parenting style, would be stronger for fathers than for mothers.

In addition to the main hypotheses, relationships among the variables were explored to see if parent attitudes correlated with parent play behavior. It was hypothesized that greater valuation of play would correlate with increased parent play behaviors. It was also hypothesized that egalitarian gender role attitudes would be correlated with more permissive mindsets toward cross-gender play.

Parents were recruited to participate in an online survey to answer questions regarding their gender role attitudes, general attitudes about parenting, and beliefs about play. Parents were required to have at least one child of each gender currently between the ages of 2 and 10. Parents were recruited through social media. Due to low participation by fathers, fathers were primarily recruited through Qualtrics survey panels and provided incentive for participation. Mothers were recruited solely through social media and were not provided an incentive.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

This chapter consists of a broad literature review of parenting to include literature on general parenting attitudes, parent-child attachment, and parenting styles. Following is a review of the literature on gender and parenting. The literature on the effects of gender role expectations in parenting, gender effects on parenting attitudes and within parent-child dyads, as well as how parental gender role attitudes effect child development is reviewed. A review of research related to play for child development, attachment, and psychotherapy follows. Finally, literature relevant to parenting, gender, and play is reviewed to provide a rational for the research questions.

Parenting Attitudes

Extensive research on parenting and child rearing demonstrates the importance of the parental role in child development. The quality of the parent-child relationship influences children's social, academic, mental health, and physical functioning into adulthood (Cassidy & Shaver, 1999; Luecken & Lemery, 2004; Moss & St-Laurent, 2001; Wakschlag & Hans, 1999). Determining the factors that influence parental attitudes and behavior is difficult. It is likely that parental beliefs about the parent's role in child socialization are a combination of a multitude of factors and are shaped by culture, environment, and individual experience. The results of many studies examining how attitudes and beliefs about parenting influence parenting behaviors suggest that the relationship between beliefs and behavior is complex (Abidin, 1992; Holden & Edwards, 1989; Smith, 2010). While there is some support that parent behaviors are congruent with parenting beliefs (Areepattamannil, 2010; Mowder, 2005), other research indicates that the parent beliefs are not always predictive of parent behavior (Brody et al., 1999; Holden & Edwards, 1989). While parent beliefs may at times predict parental behavior, there is evidence

that parent personality, parent stress, and child temperament jointly influence parental behaviors (Smith, 2010). Abidin (1992) believes that parent behavior is influenced by a variety of sociological, environmental, behavioral, and developmental factors. He asserts that parent personality and stress together with beliefs effect parenting behavior and that beliefs alone do not always predict behavior. The findings from parenting studies on attitudes and behaviors are consistent with social psychology literature demonstrating that attitudes and behaviors are not always congruent (Ajzen, 1991; Ajzen & Fishbein, 1977). The Theory of Planned Behavior (Ajzen, 1991) states that attitudes toward a behavior along with subjective norms and one's perceived behavioral control all influence behavioral intentions. Therefore, according to this theory a parent's attitudes are only one of three factors influencing behavioral intentions.

Attachment. In reviewing the literature on parenting styles, it is important to begin by acknowledging attachment. A secure parent-child attachment is unequivocally one of the fundamental objectives of parenting. Bowlby (1969) theorized that adults are biologically predisposed to attend to an infant's signals for care and survival. This theory, now widely known and accepted as attachment theory, seeks to explain parent-child attachments. Since the development of this theory, secure parent-child attachments have been widely agreed upon to be one of the most important developmental conditions for healthy child development (e.g., Schore, 2001; Streeck-Fischer & van der Kolk, 2000). Neurobiological research supports this theory and suggests that a secure attachment is foundational for healthy brain development (e.g., Perry, Blakley, Baker, & Vigilante, 1996; Schore, 2001; van der Kolk & Fisler, 1994).

Attachment is the process of infant-parent interactions in which caregivers respond to their infant's physical and emotional needs. Secure attachment requires the presence of the caregiver to modulate a child's arousal through soothing as well as stimulating one-on-one

interactions. Medical research provides physiological evidence for this showing that the heart rate curves of mothers and infants parallel each other during interactions. This research found that during stressful interactions both the mother and infant heart rates increase, while during nurturing interactions they decrease (van der Kolk & Fisler, 1994). The ability of the caregiver to soothe or stimulate his or her infant reinforces secure attachment and forms the basis for the infant's understanding of social interactions and the development of affect regulation. These early interactions form the groundwork on which an individual begins to understand his or her world and are foundational mechanisms through which neural pathways are organized in the brain. Streeck-Fisher and van der Kolk (2000) assert that the parent-child attachment bond is the catalyst for the infant's "inner map of the world" (p. 906). Attachment is also the process through which children develop the neurobiological framework for dealing with future stress (Schore, 1994).

Our understanding of parent-child attachments was broadened by the development of the Strange Situation procedure (Ainsworth, Blehar, Waters, & Wall, 1978). This procedure was developed to assess the security of the parent-child attachment. Four attachment styles were identified using this study: secure attachment, insecure-resistant attachment, and insecure-avoidant attachment (Ainsworth, et al., 1978), and disorganized attachment (Main & Solomon, 1990). It is generally believed that secure attachment is the result of responsive parenting characterized by attentiveness, nurturing, and synchronous infant-parent interactions (e.g., De Wolff & van Ijzendoorn, 1997; Posada et al., 1999; Thompson, 1998). Insecure-avoidant attachments are associated with intrusive, over stimulating, and rejecting parenting, whereas insecure-resistant attachments are correlated with inconsistent and unresponsive parenting (Belsky, 1999; De Wolff & van Ijzendoorn, 1997). A disorganized attachment pattern is

correlated with abuse and maltreatment and associated with parental behavior that is frightening or disturbing (e.g., Main & Hesse, 1990; Schore, 2001).

Parenting styles. Efforts to better understand how parenting behavior affects child development and well-being has led to the categorization of parenting styles. Four types of parenting - authoritative, authoritarian, permissive, and disengaged - have been widely researched as to how each effects child functioning and development (Baumrind, 1967, 1971; Maccoby & Marin, 1983). These styles are best understood on the continuums of demandingness and responsiveness (Maccoby & Marin, 1983). Demandingness is defined as parenting behavior intended to provide structure, rules, and clear expectations for children to encourage conformity to expected societal and familial norms. Responsiveness, sometimes referred to as parental warmth (Baumrind, 1967), pertains to parental behaviors that foster a child's individuality, self-regulation, and agency through attunement while retaining an open attitude and sensitivity to the individual uniqueness and desires of the child.

Authoritarian parents are generally high in demandingness but not responsiveness and are characterized by a power oriented style that attempts to shape and control the attitudes and behaviors of the child through assertions of power. Authoritarian parents restrict child autonomy with expectations of rigid adherence to rules and hierarchical order. Authoritarian parents are demanding, directive, intrusive, non-responsive, and expect obedience without explanation. Authoritative parents are high in both responsiveness and demandingness. Authoritative parents set clear expectation for their children and monitor them yet are not restrictive or intrusive of their children's activities. While authoritative parents set firm boundaries and have high expectations for conformity to rules, they maintain an openness to their child's thoughts and needs and utilize open dialogue when communicating boundaries while also taking into

consideration their child's thoughts and feelings. The authoritative style is supportive rather than punitive with the intent of raising assertive, socially responsive, self-regulated, and responsible children (Baumrind, 1967).

Permissive parents on the other hand, are described as lenient or nontraditional and are typically high in responsiveness but low in demandingness. They do not have high expectations for mature behavior and are generally avoidant of confrontation with their child. Permissive parents are very accepting of their child's impulses, desires, and actions and generally allow for more self-regulation than authoritarian or authoritative parents. They do not use power oriented parenting strategies but tend to utilize reason or manipulation to gain compliance. Finally, disengaged parents are neither demanding nor responsive and could be characterized as neglectful. Most parenting research has focused on authoritarian, permissive, and authoritative; and parenting assessments often classify parent beliefs and behaviors into these three typologies. Disengaged parenting is characterized as neglectful parenting, meaning that this style of parenting is lacking in active engagement in parenting behaviors meant to positively contribute to a child's development; therefore, the following discussion will focus on only active parenting styles characterized by demandingness and responsiveness (Baumrind, 1967).

Attachment and parenting styles. Research indicates that parenting high in both demandingness and responsiveness supports child developmental needs more than other parenting styles, and correlates with better overall well-being and higher levels of functioning into adulthood. Attachment research has found strong correlations between authoritative parenting and secure attachment in middle childhood, adolescence (Karavasilis et al., 2003), and adulthood (Neal & Frick-Horbury, 2001).

Parenting that is high in only demandingness in particular has been associated with adverse child outcomes (Baumrind et al., 2010). For example, children of authoritarian parents have been found to be anxious, angry, aggressive, and have low self-esteem (Baumrind, 1967, 1971; Erozkan, 2012; Maccoby & Martin, 1983; Reiss & MaNally, 1985). Further supporting the benefits of an authoritative style of parenting, Baumrind et al. found adolescents from authoritarian and permissive families were more incompetent and maladjusted than adolescents from homes with authoritative parents.

Parental responsiveness has been associated with healthy and active coping and less anxiety in children and adolescents (Landis & Stone, 1952; Wolfradt, Hempel, & Miles, 2003). Permissive and authoritative parenting are both typically characterized in western cultures by high responsiveness; however, the authoritative style correlates with more competence and better emotional adjustment among adolescents (Baumrind et al., 2010), as well as higher levels of academic achievement (Spera, 2005) as compared to child raised by authoritarian or permissive parents. For example, college students whose parents are high in warmth and support feel more capable of achieving their academic goals and have higher GPA scores than children whose parents are low in warmth and support (Turner, Chandler, & Heffer, 2009). This phenomenon may be related to perceptions of locus of control, as adolescents whose parents are high in both control and warmth have a higher self-concept and perceive themselves more capable of effecting change outside of themselves than children of parents with alternative parenting styles (McClun & Merrell, 1998).

Overall, literature supports that parenting high in responsiveness is very beneficial to children and even having just one parent high in parental warmth matters. For example, Simons and Conger (2007) found that while one authoritative parent can often ameliorate the sometimes

undesirable consequences associated with other styles of parenting, the best developmental outcomes for adolescents are associated with having two parents high in parental warmth.

Cultural considerations in parenting. There is ongoing debate among researchers regarding the utility of Baumrind's typologies in non-Western cultures. Some cross-cultural researchers argue that authoritative and authoritarian parenting styles may not have the same impact on child social and emotional development in collectivist cultures as they do in individualistic cultures (e.g., Chao, 2000, 2001). Individualism and collectivism are terms that have been broadly used to categorize cultural value systems. Western societies, often purported to be individualistic cultures, have been identified to highly value individual choice, personal freedom, and self-actualization. The core assumption of this cultural framework is that individuals are and can be independent from one another. Conversely collectivism, a term often used to describe non-Western cultures, is characterized by the valuing of group well-being and a group identity (Oyserman, Coon, & Kemmelmeier, 2002). The core assumption of collectivism is that individuals are bound to their social group and reciprocally obligated to one another. The cultural value systems of individualistic and collectivistic cultures differ greatly and likely influence beliefs about the role of parents thus impacting parenting style. Darling and Steinberg (1993) assert that it is important to consider how parenting style is influenced by cultural background and differing cultural values for socializing children.

Cross-cultural parenting researchers have undertaken the task of understanding how differing cultural values influence parenting styles and found that determining parenting styles for broad cultural groups is not easy. For example, Bornstein et al. (2011) evaluated similarities and differences between mothers and fathers attributions and attitudes toward parenting in China, Colombia, Italy, Jordan, Kenya, the Philippines, Sweden, Thailand, and the United States. The

results of their study demonstrated differences in parenting attitudes between cultures that might broadly be believed to be similar because of shared collectivist values. For example, Chinese and Thai parents rated themselves high in progressive and modern attitudes towards childrearing whereas Filipino parents rated themselves high in authoritarian attitudes. The results of this study also found that parents from China, Thailand, Jordan, and Sweden scored significantly higher than the grand mean for progressive parenting attitudes whereas parents from Kenya and the Philippines scored significantly lower. The authors attempted to explain their findings for each country through the proper cultural lens. For example, children in Kenyan culture are perceived as having a lower status in society, which might explain a tendency toward authoritarian views on parenting. Alternately, Sweden places a high emphasis on child rights and equality thus explaining progressive attitudes toward childrearing. The authors concluded that country specific patterns in parenting and child rearing should be explored through a cultural lens because understanding the beliefs and attitudes towards childrearing in each culture is foundational to understanding the beliefs about the role of parents. However, it is important to note that their findings indicate some shared parenting goals across cultures.

While cultural norms undoubtedly influence parenting beliefs and behaviors, Baumrind's parenting typologies might be useful in measuring parenting styles cross-culturally. Robinson, Mandleco, Frost Olsen, and Hart (1996) developed an instrument to measure parenting practices in multiple cultures. Their purpose was to develop a means of identifying specific parenting practices that occur within the context of the Baumrind typologies, and test the reliability and validity of the measure cross-culturally. The sample was drawn from populations in Australia, China, Russia, and the United States. The team found that the questions on the instrument were empirically supported across the four cultures. Within the authoritative and authoritarian

typologies there were similarities between participants from each of the countries as well as some subtle differences. For example, participants from all four cultures shared a *reasoning/induction* factor, but individuals from China, noted a *good-natured* and *warmth/involvement* factor. Interestingly, for Chinese parents, the *warmth* factor was separate from the *involvement* factor. There were also some unique factors as Russian parents noted a, *encourages expression* factor, and Chinese parents a, *respect/confidence* factor. There were more differences found for the authoritarian style. Russian and Chinese participants had a combined *verbal hostility* and *corporal punishment* factor whereas for parents from the United States and Australia each was a separate factor. Australian and Russian parents also had a unique *short fuse* factor. Parents from the United States and Australia had similar *non-reasoning*, *no explanation*, and *directiveness* factors. These findings suggest that these typologies are useful for measuring parenting styles within these four cultures but that cultural values might lead to slight differences in parent behaviors within each typology.

In light of the variances among parenting characteristics cross-culturally, some have questioned whether the Baumrind parenting styles have similar functions in collectivist cultures as in individualistic cultures. It has been suggested that these typologies may not be relevant to collectivist cultures and that authoritarianism may include a higher warmth factor in certain cultures (Chao, 2000, 2001). However, research does not support this hypothesis. For example, Rudy and Grusec (2001) studied Anglo Canadian and Egyptian Canadian populations to determine whether the hypothesized attributes of warmth and non-hostility were related to authoritarian parenting in collectivist cultures. Surprisingly they found that both groups of authoritarian parents were equally unsupportive of their children. Results suggested that authoritarian Egyptian Canadian parenting was associated with anger and that authoritarian

Anglo Canadian parenting was associated with coldness. Thus, the hypothesized positive factors believed to characterize authoritarian parenting in the collectivist Egyptian Canadian culture was not found. In another study, Chang, Lansford, Schwartz, and Farver (2004) found that harsh parenting in Chinese mothers was related to depression and frequent marital discord, indicating that authoritarian parenting was associated with negative affect, parental psychological distress, and negative family dynamics. Additionally, the evidence suggests that the various dimensions of authoritarian parenting function in similar ways on child outcomes and contribute to low achievement (e.g., Chen, Rubin, & Li, 1995, 1997; 1999; Chen, Dong, & Zhou 1997; Crystal et al., 1994; Leung, Lau, Wai-Lim, 1998; McBride-Chang & Chang, 1998) and psychosocial maladjustment (e.g., Barber & Harmon, 2002; Crystal et. al., 1994; Olsen et. al., 2002; Taylor & Oskay, 1995) in both collectivistic and individualistic cultures.

Research also suggests that parenting characteristics may be similarly interpreted by youth across cultures. In a meta-analysis of the literature on cross-cultural studies of parenting dimensions and styles and child outcomes, Sorkhabi (2005) concluded that empirical evidence suggests the parenting dimensions characteristic of authoritarian parenting such as shaming, expectations for autocratic obedience, severe restrictions on child autonomy, and lack of warmth are similarly interpreted by children and adolescents from a variety of cultures. Furthermore, research demonstrates that students from collectivist cultures such as China, Hong Kong, Bangladesh, Pakistan, and Chinese-American perceive the authoritarian style of control to be hostile and rejecting (e.g., Bush, Peterson, Cobas, & Supple, 2002; Kim & Ge, 2000; Lau & Cheuge, 1987; Stewart, Bond, Abdullah, & Ma, 2000; Supple, Peterson, & Bush, 2004). For example, Supple, Peterson, and Bush (2004) found that adolescent perceptions of parental punitiveness was negatively related to self-esteem and conformity to parental expectations. In

addition, the perceptions of parental support, granting of child autonomy, and parental monitoring were positively related to self-esteem and conformity to parental expectations.

Understanding parenting across cultures is complex and research suggests that parenting attitudes and philosophies greatly vary, even between cultures assumed to be closely related. While more research is needed to further explore how specific cultural values and traditions influence parenting, it appears that Baumrind's parenting typologies do have some utility in understanding how parenting characteristics influence child outcomes cross-culturally. In sum, cross-cultural research indicates that parenting characteristics associated with authoritarian parenting, particularly the authoritarian style of control, can have deleterious effects on child psychosocial development within both collectivistic and individualistic cultures.

Gender

Researchers and theorists have long attempted to explain gender differences and identify how this phenomenon might impact general social interactions as well as parenting practices. In many ways, cultural attitudes towards gender roles influence and maintain sex-type roles of men and women (Collins, Chafetz, Blumberg, Coltrane, & Turner, 1993; Coltrane, 2010). Pi-Ling (2000) found that gender role attitudes are influenced by cultural norms and beliefs passed on through social learning, and that gender, level of education for parents and children, family characteristics, entry into parenthood, marriage, and culture influence an individual's attitudes toward gender roles.

Several theories have attempted to explain how social norms related to gender roles develop and are maintained in cultures. Social Role Theory is a sociological perspective of gender that asserts people hold specific expectations and beliefs about gender that are a result of the role historically fulfilled by each gender and these expectations continue to maintain a

division of labor and gender hierarchy in a society (Eagly, 1987; Eckes & Trautner, 2000).

Eckes and Trautner (2000) state that historically, traditional gender roles were divided by the perceived complementary specializations of the male and female and were viewed as necessary for the continuation of a harmonious society. These expectations have become a “normative pressure that foster behaviors consistent with sex typical work roles” (Eckes & Trautner, 2000, p. 127). For example, beliefs that women are more nurturing and, therefore, better suited for domestic duties than men creates and sustains attitudes about gender roles and influences beliefs about which qualities are important for each gender to possess. In this theory, women and men are thought to acquire role-related skills in order to fulfill gender appropriate societal roles. Therefore, in an economy where there is a division of labor between the homemaker and household provider roles, females will learn domestic skills and males will refine skills that will aid in job acquisition. Gender roles are maintained through this social process and gender related characteristics become stereotypic of men and women in the culture.

Another theory of gender role development, Social Cognitive Theory (e.g., Bandura, 1986; Bandura, 1997; Bussey & Bandura, 1999), seeks to explain gender role development through a psychological and socio-structural paradigm. This theory espouses that cognition, affect, biology, behavior, and environment all interact bi-directionally and concurrently influence perceptions of gender and gender roles. In this theory, human behavior shapes the environment, and interactions with or in the environment are maintained by the reciprocal interactions of cognitive, behavioral, and environmental factors. Beliefs about gender norms are a product of these interactions. Information regarding gender characteristics and gender roles are passed on by the significant people in one’s social environment such as parents, peers, and educators.

These beliefs are facilitated and maintained through observations of gender specific behavior as well as through spoken beliefs about gender norms (Bussey & Bandura, 1999).

Parenting and gender. In line with theories on gender role development, parental involvement in the family has been demonstrated to be often organized along gender lines (e.g., Bianchi, Robinson and Milikei 2006; Coltrane, 2000; Ferree, 1999). Research indicates that both historically and presently, women tend to take on more responsibilities in the family and are most often the primary caregivers in their homes (Craig, 2006; Baruch & Barnett, 1986; Biernat & Wortman, 1991; Dempsey, 2002; LaRossa, 1988). In fact, there is some evidence that even before becoming parents women have an expectation that they will be responsible for more caregiving tasks during childrearing than their partner, and some women report enjoying the traditional role of being the primary parent (Goldberg & Perry-Jenkins, 2004; Kulwer, Heesink, & Van de Vliert, 2002). It is possible that while ideals of gender norms are present before the childrearing years of an individual's life, taking on a parent role may also facilitate a change in gender role attitudes or behaviors. Research suggests that during transitions to parenthood men and women often take on more traditional roles and maintain these sex-type roles throughout the childrearing years (Fan & Marini, 2000; Katz-Wise, Priess, & Hyde, 2010). Researchers have demonstrated that men and women often perceive their parent roles to be sex-typed and that these beliefs may even constrain certain parent-child interactions. For example, Moon and Hoffman (2008) studied gender-based expectancies for parenting with parents of children ages three to six and found that mothers and fathers generally believed that both genders are appropriate for participation in most parenting behaviors. However, both mothers and fathers believed that mothers were more appropriate for engaging in personal interactions, described as interactions that included touching or emotional expressions of some kind. This attitude

perceivably impacted the parent-child relationship as mothers reported taking more responsibility for physical caretaking and emotional support than fathers. The findings also revealed that mothers engaged in personal interactions with daughters more than sons, and fathers reported the least amount of personal interactions with daughters. This interactional phenomenon may be a typical gender norm as other research suggests that fathers report more involvement with their sons than daughters no matter the child's age (Aldous et al., 1998; Lamb, 1986; Lamb, 1997a).

Sex typed roles in parenting appear to impact emotional wellbeing and perceptions of parent efficacy (e.g., Coltrane, 2000; Leerkes & Burney, 2007; Nomaguchi & Milkie, 2003). Research indicates that the division of labor between genders may not be generally beneficial to women. The unequal level of involvement in family life and child care between genders has been linked to decreases in overall wellbeing for women (e.g., Coltrane, 2010; Katz-Wise et al., 2010; Lavee & Katz, 2002; Riina & Feinberg, 2012; Nomaguchi & Milkie, 2003). For example, Riina and Feinberg (2012) studied mothers' and fathers' involvement in childrearing and its impact on parental adjustment. They separated parenting behaviors into two categories, relationship focused care and task focused care. Relationship focused child care included playing with the child and emotional engagement, and task focused care included tasks of child care such as feeding and changing diapers. They found that mothers were more involved in both types of child-rearing than fathers and that this imbalance correlated with poorer adjustment for mothers. For men, both types of child-rearing were correlated to positive adjustment and overall parental involvement was linked to emotional benefits. Furthermore, relationship focused child care was associated with greater parenting efficacy for fathers but was not linked to any benefits for mothers. Fathers involved in relationship focused care were also less likely to indicate depression, conversely relationship focused care was linked to increases in depression and

parenting stress for mothers. Others have also found similar outcomes for fathers further indicating that parent-child emotional bonds increase psychological well-being for men and contribute to parenting efficacy (Knoester, Petts, & Eggebeen, 2007; Leerkes & Burney, 2007).

In efforts to explain these findings and similar research findings (Knoester et al., 2007; Lavee & Katz, 2002; Nomaguchi & Milkie, 2003), Riina and Feinberg (2012) hypothesized that mothers may naturally be involved in childrearing tasks at the level necessary to experience benefits and that further involvement does not improve parent adjustment or efficacy. On the other hand, fathers are less involved in parenting and therefore receive more benefits when they increase their involvement. Another explanation for this phenomenon suggested that mothers may experience distress when they perceive their partner is not fulfilling their parenting role which may account for poorer overall wellbeing and adjustment. Coltrane (2000) offers yet another perspective on the subject asserting that women are more likely than men to view family labor as an obligation; whereas, men perceive certain parental tasks to be optional for them. Fathers may perceive they have greater freedom to choose their level of involvement in child rearing and thus experience more perceived benefit when they surpass expectations related to family role involvement. This difference between maternal and paternal involvement in parenting could have important implications for children's gender role development because according to Coltrane (2010), the involvement of men in child care influences how children are socialized into gender roles.

Effects of gender role expectations. Expectations of parental roles might be influenced by attitudes toward gender roles. For example, in relationships where partners believe in more egalitarian family roles versus tradition roles, couples were more likely to share childrearing duties, thereby, equalizing the gender role division of labor (Coltrane, 2000). Research suggests

that men with egalitarian gender role attitudes are more likely than men with traditional gender role attitudes to intend to have a child and less likely to divorce while women with egalitarian perspectives expect to have fewer children (College, 2000; Kaufman, 2005). Men who have egalitarian perceptions of gender roles also demonstrate increased willingness to spend more time doing housework, work less and have fewer expectations for their partner to stay at home. Women with egalitarian beliefs are more likely to expect to work outside of the home (Kaufman, 2005). Goldberg and Perry-Jenkins (2004) found that expectations regarding parent gender roles and the division of labor for child rearing influences parental adjustment and that incongruence between beliefs and behaviors increases stress and contributes to poorer overall adjustment for mothers. Women with traditional gender role attitudes whose husbands made more contributions to child care than expected experienced higher levels of distress due to the incongruence between gender role attitudes and their and partners behaviors. Katz-Wise, Priess, and Hyde (2010) go so far as to posit that because mothers are more involved in child care and seemingly take on more responsibility in parenting, they might be more enmeshed with their children than fathers. Ie, this dynamic could most certainly contribute to poorer overall adjustment for women because they might become overly responsible for their children's happiness and wellbeing leading to higher levels of stress.

Consequently, expectations about division of labor in parenthood seem to influence men and women differently. Egalitarian views of parenting correlate with more overall involvement in parenting for men; however, gender role attitudes have not been found to influence level of involvement in parenting for women (Riina & Feinberg, 2012). Riina and Feinberg's (2012) research also suggests that egalitarian fathers experience better adjustment than fathers with traditional views of parenting gender roles. In addition, gender role attitudes were linked to level

of parental depression, and fathers with traditional gender role attitudes experience less depression when involved in both relational and task focused parenting.

Gender role expectations have implications for parenting style and family culture. Evidence has demonstrated that families with traditional gender role values have higher levels of conflict than families with more egalitarian values (Marks, Bun, & McHale, 2012). Fagot and Leinbach (1995) found that young children of egalitarian parents are less likely to adopt gender labels than those with parents who hold more traditional attitudes. Notably, they also found that infant boys with parents who shared parenting tasks more equally experience less negative responses from parents than those in traditional homes. In addition, mothers with egalitarian gender role attitudes are more likely to react positively to shyness in their sons than were mothers with traditional attitudes, thus demonstrating more acceptance of a behavior that might traditionally be more acceptable for daughters than sons (Kingsbury & Coplan, 2012). Thus, egalitarian attitudes appear to be characterized by more warmth and acceptance of child needs, and a less judgmental attitude toward behavioral norms than traditional gender role attitudes. Subsequently, egalitarian parents might be more likely to have authoritative parenting attitudes than those with traditional gender role expectations. An example of this was found in a sample of Urban Chinese parents of a single child who reported predominantly authoritative parenting attitudes that were egalitarian in nature and high in warmth (Lu & Chang, 2013). A meta-analysis of the literature on parental influences on children's socialization reveals that families with at least one parent who does not conform to traditional sex-typed roles are higher in parental warmth and support than families in which both parents have traditional gender role attitudes (Witt, 1997), both qualities that are found to be high in authoritative and permissive parenting styles.

Gender effects and parenting attitudes. Not only does gender impact one's experience of parenting, research suggests there are gender differences found in parenting practices (e.g., Bentley & Fox, 1991; Conrade & Ho, 2001; Gryczkowski & Jordan, 2010; Kochanska & Aksan, 2004; Platz, Pupp, & Fox, 1994; Volling, McElwain, Notaro, & Herrera, 2002). Bornstein et al. (2011) studied mothers' and fathers' attitudes in parenting in nine countries and found that mothers reported more progressive parenting attitudes in childrearing than fathers, and fathers reported more authoritarian attitudes. These findings are supported by a multitude of research studies that have found that mothers generally report more authoritative parenting styles, whereas fathers consistently report being more authoritarian (e.g., Lamb, 1997b; Rosen & Rothbaum, 1993; Russell et al., 1998; Winsler et al., 2005; Smetana, 1995). Self-report surveys have found that mothers report a greater tendency to provide more supervision of activities, be more nurturing, and more involved in their children's lives (e.g., Bentley & Fox, 1991; Gryczkowski & Jordan, 2010; Harris & Morgan, 1991; Platz et al., 1994; Yeung, Sandberg, Davis-Kean, & Hofferth, 2001). Pedersen (2012) completed a qualitative study to ascertain parents' beliefs and attitudes about what makes a good parent. Mothers reported believing that parenting is a mother's primary job and that any competing demands, such as work outside of the home, take time and energy away from parenting and create guilt for the mother. Fathers, on the other hand, did not experience guilt when work commitments reduced their parenting time; rather, fathers reported feeling empowered to be involved in child care when they chose to do so. Additionally, mothers believed that good parenting was defined by "attention to detail" (p. 14), which encompassed caregiving tasks and sometimes even efforts to control the type of care provided by the father. Mothers and fathers utilized each other's parenting differently with mothers generally asking fathers for help with child care when they felt overwhelmed.

Conversely, fathers asked mothers for direction to help when they wanted to be involved in child care. Mothers' and fathers' views on being a good parent also differed and mothers believed that good parenting demanded reliability, organization, and consistency with discipline whereas fathers believed that good parenting was participating in family life and spending time with children.

Interestingly, there is some evidence that child personality factors might influence mothers and fathers differently. McBride, Schoppe, and Rane (2002) found that fathers of challenging children might experience higher levels of parenting stress relative to mothers of challenging children. If this is an influencing factor, fathers may not engage in parenting interactions at times in order to manage or avoid parental stress and may defer to the mother during difficult encounters. The mechanism of stress was not identified in the study, but one explanation is that fathers may feel less competent in dealing with difficult behaviors. Research also suggests that gender influences parent-child interactions differently during different developmental stages. For example, mothers have been found to be more responsive to their infant, make more attempts for social interaction, and give more commands during a child's infancy than fathers (Kochanska & Aksan, 2004; Volling et al., 2002). However, during preschool years and into middle childhood mothers use more indirect methods of gaining a child's compliance, and exhibit greater social and emotional exchanges while fathers exhibit more control-oriented behaviors (Abkarian et al., 2003; Shinn & O'Brian, 2008; Wilson & Durbin, 2013).

Gender effects within parent-child dyads. Gender differences are present within parent-child gender dyads. For example in a study of emerging adults' perspectives of their parents, Conrade and Ho (2001) found that mothers were perceived to utilize a more

authoritative style of parenting for children of both genders. Mothers were perceived to be more responsive to children's feelings, more physically affectionate, more involved in children's lives, and more likely to utilize democratic parenting practices than fathers. However, they found sons, more than daughters, perceived fathers to utilize a more authoritarian style of parenting. The findings also suggested that sons perceived mothers to be more likely to use a permissive style of parenting than did daughters. A second example of these gender effects in parent-child dyads was found by Ross, Tesla, Kenyon, and Lollis (1990) in a study that measured mothers' interactions with their children during peer conflict. They found that mothers come to their children's aid in peer-to-peer conflict and were more likely to favor the peers during such interactions; however, mothers of boys were three times more likely to favor their own child than mothers of girls. These findings suggest that mothers may unconsciously interact differently with their daughters and sons. These unconscious differences may contribute to the gender socialization of youth. In fact, there is evidence that modeling of gender roles or differential treatment of children by parents does influence the way that boys and girls are socialized (e.g., Conrade & Ho, 2001; Eisenberg, 1996; Russell et al., 1998). Several studies have found that household chores are often assigned to children in sex-type fashion with girls performing household chores such as cleaning and washing dishes and boys performing more 'masculine' chores such as mowing the lawn and attending to the garbage (Goldstein & Oldham, 1979; Laosa, 1982; Medrich, Roizen, Rubin, & Buckley, 1982; White & Brinkerhoff, 1981). Gender role attitudes have also been demonstrated to influence the socialization of boys and girls in competitive activities and academics. Parents tend to rate daughters more competent than sons in English and sons more competent than daughters in sports (Eccles et al., 1990). The authors speculate that since general patterns for children's competencies do not match these gender typed

attributions, some other factor, namely gender stereotyped attitudes, must be influencing parent's perceptions of competencies. The authors assert that parents' perceptions of their children's competencies are impacted in part by their own gender role attitudes rather than solely by their child's true abilities.

Likely, these experiences in childhood influence children's attitudes related to gender roles. According to Social Role Theory (Eagly, 1987), household division of labor along gender lines for children serves to maintain the historical gender roles, and boys and girls learn to perform tasks that will fulfill the roles they perceive to be available to them in society. The Social Cognitive Theory of gender role development (e.g., Bandura, 1986; Bandura, 1997; Bussey & Bandura, 1999) posits that parents model sex-type behaviors; therefore, the division of chores along gender lines serves to perpetuate stereotyped gender roles in children.

Leaper, Anderson and Sanders (1998) found that mothers make more supportive statements to daughters than sons and use fewer commands with sons than daughters. Although this differential treatment may be automatic and unconscious, the researchers explore its influence on child socialization. They speculate that, because sons are given more autonomy, they are treated in a manner that encourages independence while girls, who are given more verbal encouragement, are treated in a manner that reinforces dependence. The authors assert that the implications for such socialization are far reaching into adulthood.

Parenting gender effects for child development. Not only are gender differences in parenting important to understand for the purposes of identifying how gender roles are perpetuated and maintained in society, they are also important to facilitate greater understanding of children's social and emotional development. Research suggests that parental involvement may impact the development of boys and girls differently (e.g., Aldous & Mulligan, 2002;

Carlson, 2006). For example, Gryczkowski and Jordan (2010) found that low paternal involvement is linked with behavioral problems more so for boys than girls. On the other hand, sons who experienced more maternal praise, encouragement, and physical affection were less likely to exhibit externalizing behaviors. The researchers also found that girls were less likely to exhibit high levels of externalizing behaviors when their parents actively monitored their behaviors. Finally, they found some evidence that gender may have some influence on discipline, as maternal discipline was linked with higher externalizing behaviors in both boys and girls.

Gender biased treatment of children by parents may also impact children's emotional wellbeing. For example, McHale, Bartko, Crouter, and Perry-Jenkins (1990) found incongruence between a child's role behaviors and a parent's gender role attitudes may be stressful for some sons. Their study demonstrated that involvement in traditional household chores may have a negative emotional impact on boys in families in which their sex-type chores differ from the gender role attitudes in their family. The most salient contributor to stress was in cases in which the paternal role in the family and household tasks were incongruent to the sex-type chores expected of the son. This finding is important because it suggests parental modeling can influence the gender development of boys and also demonstrates how parental ideals, behavioral modeling, and childrearing practices together might influence not only gender role development but also emotional wellbeing for children.

Parenting in same-sex couples. Culture and family context are both influential in shaping parenting behaviors. Children of same-sex couples grow up in a different family context and, thus, have a different family culture than do children with heterosexual parents. Current research with gay and lesbian parents indicates parent sexual orientation does not impact parent-

child attachment or psychosocial adjustment. There have been numerous studies demonstrating that children raised by same-sex couples are as emotionally well-adjusted as children raised by heterosexual couples (e.g., Anderssen, Amlie, & Ytteroy, 2002; Biblarz & Stacey 2010; Bos & Sandfort, 2010; Goldberg & Smith, 2013; Lavner, Waterman & Peplau, 2012; Patterson, 2006). One study found that for adopted children of gay, lesbian, and heterosexual parents, parent sexual orientation did not influence adolescence attachment (Erich, Hall, Kanenberg & Case, 2009). Rather, adolescent life satisfaction and parent satisfaction of the parent-child relationship predicted attachment. This research indicates that parent sexual orientation is not a determining factor within the parent-child relationship.

Few studies explore differences in parenting style among gay, lesbian, and heterosexual parents. A study from the United Kingdom found that gay fathers of adopted children rated higher in warmth, responsiveness in parent-child interactions, and lower in disciplinary aggression than heterosexual fathers (Golombok et al., 2014). Bigner and Jacobsen (1989) found gay fathers to be stricter, more responsive to children's needs, and more likely to explain reasons for expected behavior more consistently than heterosexual fathers. This research suggests that gay fathers may be more likely to have parenting styles that balance both parental warmth and control than heterosexual fathers. However, these findings are not conclusive as Bigner and Jacobsen (1992) did not find differences between the parenting styles of gay and non-gay fathers. Therefore, it is unclear whether sexual orientation has an influence on parenting style.

Research does indicate that children from gay and lesbian families are less likely to conform to stereotypical gender roles. Bos and Sandfort (2010) found that Dutch children of lesbian mothers were less likely to feel parental pressure to follow gender stereotypes. Gay fathers and lesbian mothers report that their children appear to develop typical gender-role

identification and behaviors, with boys choosing masculine-typed toys and girls choosing feminine-types toys (Tasker, 2010). However, other research indicates that there may be some differences in gender socialization between children of same-sex and heterosexual couples. Goldberg, Kashy, and Smith (2012) found that children in same-sex parent families exhibit less gender stereotyped play than children in heterosexual parent families. The authors explained their findings by asserting that gay and lesbian parents might be more likely to facilitate cross-gendered play and activities for their children through creating social environments in which cross-gendered behavior is not disapproved. They hypothesized that gay and lesbian parent's "gender-nonconforming identities" (p. 511) likely create an environment supportive of non-gender typed behavior. They further postulate that heterosexual parents are more likely to create environments discouraging cross-gendered behavior in play because they likely have more typical gender identities. Notably, the researchers found that boys in lesbian-mother families were reported to engage in less masculine stereotyped play than boys in heterosexual or gay-father families. The authors supposed that this could reflect the absence of a father figure as research has demonstrated that rough-and-tumble play, defined as stereotypical masculine play, occurs most often within father-son dyads. The absence of a father may decrease reinforcement of and exposure to this kind of gender-typed play. Similarly, girls from gay-father families were rated as engaging in less feminine play behavior than were daughters of heterosexual parents, but more feminine-typed play than those in lesbian-mother families. The authors relied on previous literature to explain these findings. They elucidate that research with gay fathers indicates that gay fathers are a balance of masculine and feminine (Biblarz & Stacey, 2010) and, therefore, may model feminine behaviors thus influencing both feminine-typed and masculine-typed behaviors for their children.

Overall, research indicates that parent sexual orientation does not influence attachment or psychosocial and emotional adjustment. Although gay-fathers and lesbian-mothers report their children to develop typical stereotyped gender behaviors, research suggests that there may be differences in gender socialization among the children of same-sex parents. In particular, children of gay and lesbian parents play in less gender-typed ways. This research supports the theory that parent gender role attitudes do influence children's socialization as research suggests that gay and lesbian parent likely have less stereotypical gender role attitudes (Goldberg et al., 2012).

Play

Vygotsky (1967) believed that play was the manner in which children utilize their imagination to realize unattainable desires. He studied make-believe play in child development and believed that play promoted understanding of social rules, social roles, and increased self-regulation. He believed that play was an important part of cognitive development in that it facilitated the cognitive process of extracting meaning from concrete objects. He also contended that while play is a means of immediate pleasure, it also promotes the ability to inhibit immediate impulses in expectation of attaining greater pleasure in the future. Vygotsky explained that all child's play is generally governed by rules and that even though these rules only exist in the play, children learn to delay their own personal gratification in order to abide by the rules of the game. Play leads to the development of goal oriented behavior as the child learns to inhibit immediate impulses in order to experience a greater reward in the future.

Piaget (1951), another influential child development researcher, believed that play was a mechanism for merging old and new schemes for the development of new ones and that play facilitated learning new behaviors as they were practiced during the course of play. Child

development experts currently agree that play promotes learning and believe that it should be incorporated into academic pursuits (e.g., Hirsh-Pasek et al., 2009; Singer et al., 2009; Van Dalen, 1947). In addition to the academic value of play, experts believe that play promotes greater emotional intelligence and regulation as well as greater physical and spiritual health (L'Abate, 2009; Singer et al., 2009).

Play in child development. There are many forms of play, and play experts generally categorize play into two types: structured and unstructured (Fisher et al., 2008). Structured play is goal oriented and governed by rules and pre-existing objectives. Unstructured play on the other hand, rejects pre-existing objectives and allows the child to engage in imaginative and creative activities with endless possibilities. Both structured and unstructured play contribute to development and appear to facilitate the acquisition of different skills. Both unstructured play activities and structured play, such as the practice of particular skills for a sport, have both been found to be helpful in developing athletic and cognitive skills. For example, structured play is important in the development of specific skills, such as throwing and catching a baseball, but unstructured play promotes the development of creative thinking (Memmert, Baker, & Bertsch, 2010). Woolf (2011) found that children who were given the opportunity to engage in unstructured play during their school day experienced improvements in self-esteem and social competence. Researchers have also found that pretend play improves children's abilities to be more emotionally regulated, attuned to others, and empathic (Gayler & Evans, 2001; Lindsey & Colwell 2013; Niec & Russ, 2002;). For example, preschool children who engage in pretend play express more positive emotions with peers, better understand the emotional perspective of others, and are perceived by their mothers to exhibit better emotion regulation (Lindsey & Colwell, 2013). Pretend play, another specific kind of play, may contribute to decreased shyness

in preschool children. Taylor, Sachet, Maring, and Mannering (2013) found that children who engage in pretend play and assumed pretend identities were less shy than children who did not engage in that kind of role play behavior. Overall, children who are allowed to play experience greater emotional well-being than those who do not play (Howard & McInnes, 2013).

Play also promotes physical health. In particular, physically active play has been demonstrated to be central to healthy physical development in children. Literature suggests the physical nature of play such as running, tumbling, climbing, and jumping contributes to the healthy development of muscles, lungs, the heart, and other vital organs (e.g., Cooper et al., 1999; Janz et al., 2000; Kalish, 1995; Noland et al., 1990; Pica, 2003). Physically active play has also been demonstrated to positively impact brain development and contribute to better overall cognitive functioning. While it is difficult to measure actual brain size in human children, several non-human animal studies have demonstrated that playfulness in mammals in general is linked to larger brain size (Byers, 1999; Iwaniuk, Nelson, & Pellis, 2001; Smith, 1978). For example Byers (1999) found that marsupials with larger brains were more likely to play than those with smaller brains. Additionally, play researchers believe that play increases neural tissue and more sophisticated neural abilities, thus, animals with more sophisticated forms of play would have greater brain size (Fagan, 1981; Parker & Mikinney, 1999).

Rough-and-tumble play, such as jumping, climbing, wrestling, running, and chasing has been researched in both nonhuman animals and humans. This play while sometimes misunderstood because of its aggressive nature has been demonstrated to have a vital role in development. Brown (2010) purports that play, in childhood, is a way of experiencing the world, and rough-and-tumble play provides an experience for children in which they can begin to understand their own personal strengths and limitations in their social and physical environment.

Rough-and-tumble play in non-human animals contributes to understanding many different facets of social relationships such as social discrimination, social competence, behavioral norms, better decisions making, and integration of the multiple brain regions (Gordon et al., 2003; Panksepp, 1998; Pellis et al., 2006; Pellis and Pellis, 2001). Although, the neurological benefits of rough-and-tumble play for human children have not been scientifically studied, Pellis and Pellis (2001) hypothesize that rough-and-tumble play has similar benefits for humans as it does non-human animals, and that it likely improves social competence into adulthood. While there is a paucity of literature documenting the cognitive effects of rough-and-tumble play in human children, observational research does suggest that children who engage in rough-and-tumble play are often more socially flexible (Pellegrini, 1988a, 1988b, 1992). Not only does rough-and-tumble play have social and cognitive benefits, it seems to also serve a particular function for development as it follows a developmental pattern in both animals and humans alike. Studies indicate that rough-and-tumble play occurs more often in younger childhood and slowly declines during late childhood (Humphreys & Smith, 1987; Panksepp, 1980), thus indicating that it is a natural and important part of development. For example, play researchers Scott and Panksepp (2003) found that when given the opportunity to engage in play, young children readily engaged in a variety of spirited rough-and-tumble play activities supporting the hypothesis that this kind of play is a spontaneous and normal part of human development.

Parent-child play and secure attachment. Research supports the importance of secure attachment in child's play. There is evidence that secure attachment is related to more sophisticated forms of free play (Belsky, Garduque, & Hrncir, 1984; Blehar, Lieberman, & Ainsworth, 1977; Marino, 1988). In addition, children who are more securely attached are able to engage in higher levels of symbolic play, or the ability to use objects to represent other objects

in play, for longer periods of time (Slade, 1987). Children with secure attachments to their father have been found to play significantly more than children who are insecurely attached to their fathers (Kazura, 2000). Moreover, secure attachment and play are correlated with social competence in children as securely attached toddlers are found to be more cooperative, enthusiastic, and persistent in play than insecurely attached toddlers (Mates, Arend, & Sroufe, 1978).

Parental involvement in play is important and appears to influence the attachment relationship. Securely attached infants are more likely to have mothers who instigated play in early infancy (Kiser et al., 1986). More securely attached children have mothers who are not only more involved in their play but also favor active engagement in play, whereas mothers of anxiously attached children favor passive participation in their child's play (Slade, 1987). Similarly, Kerns and Barth (1995) found that securely attached mother-child dyads have higher rates of play engagement. Even with evidence demonstrating that securely attached children play more with their parents and exhibit more sophisticated play, some researchers doubt the link between parent-child play and secure attachment due to inconsistent relationships between mother-child play and father-child play and attachment. For example, Kerns and Barth (1995) assert that play might be a distinct element of parent-child interaction and separate from the attachment relationship based on their findings that mother-child play quality but not father-child play quality was linked to secure attachment in early childhood. However, findings from a 16-year longitudinal study (Grossmann et al., 2002) found evidence that father-child play did correlate with secure attachment in middle and late childhood. The researchers found that fathers' responsiveness, emotional support, and gentle challenges during toddler-parent play was found to be a strong predictor of child attachments at ages 10 and 16 whereas there was not a

link for mother-child play in middle and late childhood. Maternal attachment during early childhood rather than play sensitivity predicted secure attachments in later childhood. Rather than indicating no link between play and attachment, these differing results seem to suggest that mothers and fathers may contribute differently to a child's development and attachments during play and that interactions with both parents are important experiences for a child to have (Grossmann et al., 2002; Sullivan, 2003).

Play therapy. Because of its many contributions to healthy child development, play is widely utilized for providing therapy with children and is commonly referred to in clinical practice as play therapy. Play therapy is grounded in the theory that play is a very important developmental process for children and it has become one of the most accepted forms of child therapy (Bratton, Ray, Rhine, & Jones, 2005; Leblanc & Ritchie, 2001; Reddy, Files-Hall, & Schaefer, 2005). Play therapists believe that play is the primary avenue for gaining greater understanding of children. Through play, children express their feelings, master new skills, integrate new experience into their understanding of their world, develop an understanding of social fairness, and sharpen problem-solving and coping abilities (VanFleet, 2005). Sigmund Freud first used play therapy to uncover his client's unconsciousness in 1909. Other early psychoanalysts such as Anna Freud and Melanie Klein incorporated play into their work with children (Gil, 1994). Klein (1937) believed that play was a mechanism through which the child's unconscious conflicts and desires were made known and the equivalent to free associations made by adults. Contemporary thought espouses that play allows children to work through unconscious conflicts in an emotionally safe context and that by doing so the child integrates experiences that are contributing to symptomatic behaviors (Gil, 1994).

Since the initial use of play in therapy, many different play therapies have emerged and are used to treat many childhood problems. Play therapy is generally separated into two categories, humanistic-nondirective therapies and directive play therapies (Reddy et al., 2005). Humanistic-nondirective play therapies, often called child-directed play therapy, emphasizes full acceptance of the child and views the therapeutic relationship as important for therapeutic change. Directive play therapies emphasize the usefulness of specific play techniques to guide therapeutic interventions to address specific therapy goals (Gil, 1994). Meta-analysis of play therapy research suggests that non-directive play therapies may be slightly more effective than directive play therapy approaches (Bratton et al., 2005), although researchers caution this difference might be influenced by the disproportionate number of studies done in the two categories (Reddy et al., 2005). Research has clearly established the utility of play therapy to address a variety of childhood problems. There are studies that support its effectiveness for improving self-concept, behavioral change, cognitive ability, social skills, and anxiety (Bratton & Ray, 2000).

Family play therapy. In addition to using play therapy within the therapist-child relationship, play therapists often incorporate parents into play therapy. Incorporating parents into play therapy has been shown to greatly increase the effectiveness of the therapy (e.g., Bratton et al., 2005; Gil, 1994; Leblanc & Ritchie, 2001; Reddy et al., 2005; VanFleet, 2005). Additionally, play therapists assert that play therapies can be utilized to strengthen the attachment relationships even into teenage years (Booth & Jerngerg, 2010; Fish & McCollum, 1997; Green, Myrick, & Crenshaw, 2013). The utilization of the attachment relationship in play therapy may increase the utility of play therapy with children as it draws on the already established and ongoing dyadic relationship between parent and child. As demonstrated earlier

in this paper, the parent-child relationship greatly influences child development and well-being. A secure attachment relationship can enhance the ameliorative qualities of play therapy, conversely play therapy can have ameliorative impacts on an insecure or disorganized attachment. Play therapy can help parents better understand the perspectives of their children and allow for more useful and meaningful communication as it brings the adult world closer to the child's world, which Gil (1994) refers to as "merging spheres" (p. 38). She asserts that children have developmental limitations that inhibit them from understanding and entering into the adult world and communicating in meaningful ways with their parents. Parents on the other hand, have cognitive abilities and skills that predispose them to interactional patterns that rely only on verbal communication for connection. Play therapy provides a medium through which adults can escape rigid cognitive and verbal exchanges and enter into the child's world. Play is believed to be the primary way through which children communicate (e.g., Gil, 1994; VanFleet 2005) and parents' interaction in play therapy is facilitative of more meaningful parent-child communication.

Several family play therapies have emerged to incorporate parents into treatment. Each is grounded in attachment theory, among others, recognizing the importance of parent-child attachment relationships to child development. While there are differences among family play therapies, each utilizes play to enhance the parent-child relationship and improve child behavior and overall well-being. Research indicates that improving the parent-child relationship through family play therapy improves a number of problematic symptoms in children and improves parenting efficacy (e.g., Booth & Jernberg, 2010; Gil, 1994; VanFleet, 2005). Filial therapy, an evidence-based family play therapy focusing on the parent-child relationship, asserts that by enhancing the parent-child relationship, a child's maladaptive patterns of behavior will decrease

(VanFleet, 2005). This goal is achieved as the therapist works directly with the parent, teaching play therapy skills to enable them to facilitate weekly play sessions with their child/children. Filial therapy was developed to implement with children ages three to twelve, supporting the parents in building developmentally appropriate expectations and parenting skills for their child. At the core of Filial therapy is the assumption that healthy, secure, strong attachments form the basis for healthy child and family development (VanFleet, 2005). Parent-child interaction therapy (PCIT), also an evidence-based treatment, was originally developed for children ages two through seven (Funderburk & Eyberg, 2011). The primary goals of PCIT are to improve the parent-child relationship through strengthening the attachment and reinforce positive behavior in the child. Like filial therapy, PCIT uses didactic play sessions to accomplish this goal. This therapy uses more overt behavioral training however, as parents are taught how to use behavioral strategies to shape their child's behavior. Both therapies have been found to be effective in not only treating a wide variety of presenting childhood problems, but also improving parent efficacy, thereby enhancing the families' adaptability and creating more resilience to future individual and family problems (Funderburk & Eyberg, 2011; VanFleet, 2005).

Because play and attachment are fundamental to healthy development in children, play therapies are also useful to treat children with developmental delays. Floortime was developed to specifically address developmental disorders, such as autism spectrum disorders (Greenspan & Wieder, 2006). This treatment approach was designed to address the core interpersonal and emotional inabilities of children with autism spectrum disorders (ASDs). The Floortime model is a dynamic approach to addressing ASDs that is based on the assumption that the core developmental foundations for "relating, thinking, and communicating, even for children with severe problems" can be addressed through interventions targeting their emotions (Greenspan &

Wieder, 2006, p. 9). This model allows for flexibility in addressing each individual's symptoms and is guided by three ideals: tailoring interactions to the child's nervous system, building spontaneous interactions, and using the child's natural interests and emotions within all interactions. All of this is accomplished through joining the child in play at their own developmental ability level. The attachment relationship is utilized in this model as parents are taught how to engage in play with their child while addressing his or her individual developmental needs. This highly efficacious approach to treatment for children with developmental delays has revolutionized the way that professionals treat this population (Greenspan & Wieder, 2006).

Due to the success of family play therapies, play is also used as a vehicle for joining the academic and home environment to address emotional and behavioral problems of children. Therapies such as Theraplay (Booth & Jernberg, 2010) and The Incredible Years (Webster-Stratton, 1984) utilize play interventions to address social, behavioral, and emotional problems in the academic setting. Each of these therapies seek to improve parent-child interactions through building positive relationships and attachments. Parents learn relational and parenting skills that contribute to more nurturing parenting styles. Additionally, both programs have been utilized in the academic setting to improve social competence, emotional regulation, and cognitive skills that improve academic functioning. Parent-teacher partnerships are facilitated and improved, thus, enhancing the social support system of both child and parent.

Parenting, Gender, and Play

The strong body of literature illuminating the many benefits of play provides support for the theory that limited playtime in childhood may increase poor psychosocial adjustment in adults. Recently McKinney and Powers (2012) found that the amount of childhood play time

may be correlated with positive psychological adjustment in early adulthood. Emerging adults who perceived they engaged in more playtime as children reported more positive psychological adjustment than adults who reported less perceived childhood playtime. While this research is compelling, it is also important to acknowledge its limitations in that retrospective memory biases can result in well-adjusted adults remembering more positive play memories.

Parental perceptions of play. Parental perceptions of play are important because these attitudes could influence their encouragement of and involvement in their children's play. Parental involvement in children's play has been found to promote learning opportunities to develop problem solving skills, build imagination, develop language, and social competence (Roggman, Boyce, Cook, Christiansen, & Jones, 2004; Strom, 1977). There is also some evidence that certain kinds of play help children develop emotional regulation. Engaging in rough-and-tumble play with an authoritative father contributes to social and emotional development and promotes better emotional regulation within peer relationships in childhood (Flanders et al., 2010; Flanders, Leo, Paquette, Pihl, & Seguin, 2009). While research supports the importance and utility of play for physical, cognitive, social, and emotional development, there has been little research exploring parenting and play, specifically which kinds of parents promote play and how that influences a child's play. Findings generally suggest that parents do believe that play is valuable for educational purposes and cognitive and social development (e.g., Haight, Parke & Black, 1997; Parmar, Harkness & Super, 2004; Roopnarine & Jin, 2012; Shiakou & Belsky, 2013). Mothers who believe certain kinds of play contribute to learning will facilitate opportunities for her child to play in that manner (Fisher et al., 2008). In a small sample of Native Hawaiian parents in rural Hawaii, Holmes (2011) found that parents believed that play was important and benefited children's development. They encouraged group play that

facilitated the acquisition of social skills such as cooperation and sharing, and discouraged play in which children might be harmed. The participants in this study also believed that parental participation in play was important for children and that parents should make time to play with their children. Similar to Holmes's (2011) findings, parents who valued the role of play for child development were more likely to believe that they were appropriate participants for their child's play (Haight, Wang, Fung, Williams, & Mintz, 1999). While limited, studies indicate that there may be gender difference in attitudes toward play (Haight et al., 1997; Lin & Yawkey, 2013; Roopanarine & Jin, 2012). For example, in a small sample of Indo Caribbean Immigrant parents in the United States, fathers valued play for its physical and recreational developmental contributions while mothers valued the cognitive and social benefits more (Roopanarine & Jin, 2012). In another study, Haight, Parke and Black (1997) found that both mothers and fathers valued pretend play for social development. However, fathers ranked their preferences for rough-and-tumble play higher than pretend play while mothers preferred pretend play and book reading.

Gender effects in play. While it is well established that fathers generally engage in less child rearing tasks, research suggests that the same may not be true of fathers when it comes to parent-child play. There is evidence indicating that fathers spend more of their parenting time playing with their children than mothers (MacDonald & Parke, 1986; Kazura, 2000). Specifically, Kotelchuck (1976) found that fathers spend 40% of their time with their infants playing while mother spent about 25% of their time playing with infants. Fathers and mothers also appear to play differently with their children. Fathers tend to be more physically assertive in play than mothers and more likely to engage in rough-and-tumble play (e.g., Jacklin et al., 1984; Laosa & Sigel, 1981; Lamb, 1977; Langlois & Downs, 1980; MacDonald & Parke, 1984;

MacDonald & Parke, 1986). Mothers, on the other hand, participate more in pretend play with children (Langlois & Downs, 1980; Tamis-LeMonda & Bornstein, 1991). Interestingly, even though fathers tend to report more engagement in physical play, they are also more likely than mothers to be involved in relational and play oriented child care (Craig, 2006; Riina & Feinberg, 2012). While there do appear to be parent gender differences in play, the evidence for how child gender might also influence the dyadic relationship is inconclusive. In a meta-analysis of the literature, Lytton and Romney (1991) concluded that gender differences in childrearing of boys and girls were only slight. The only significant difference found in North America was the socialization of sex-typed activities perpetuated by parents. However, if one considers the time spent in either task related or play oriented activities, this could account for a significant amount of time in a child's life. Therefore, while generally there may be very few differences in the way parents raise girls and boys, these small variances may greatly influence social and emotional development.

Parent-child play dyads. In play observations mothers and fathers have been observed to play differently within gender-dyads with both parents engaging in more rough-and tumble play with sons and the pattern being strongest in father-son dyads (Jacklin et al., 1984; Lindsey & Mize, 2001; Lindsey, Mize, & Pettit, 1997a; Lindsey, Mize, & Pettit, 1997b; MacDonald & Parke, 1984). Langlois and Downs (1980) also found that in play interactions fathers generally use rewarding behavior with younger children and daughters and are more punishing with older children and sons. This further supports findings that fathers may treat sons and daughters differently in play interactions. On the other hand, there has not been a difference found between mother-daughter and mother-son dyads for rough-and-tumble play (Lindsey & Mize, 2001; MacDonald & Parke 1984). However, both parents are found to more often participate in

pretend play with daughters, yet, mother-daughter dyads engage most in this form of play (Langlois & Downs, 1980; Lindsey & Mize, 2001; Lindsey et al., 1997a; Lindsey et al., 1997b; Tamis-LeMonda & Bornstein, 1991). Mother attitudes toward pretend play and play behaviors seem to be congruent as mothers view pretend play more positively than fathers, particularly if they have a daughter (Gleason, 2005). These attitudes may influence the play of boys and girls. For example, MacDonald and Parke (1986) found parents report that girls participate more in non-strenuous physical games and boys participate more often in physically active games.

There is some evidence that men may be more influenced by gender stereotypes in play and more likely to perpetuate sex-typed activities. For example, mothers are found to participate equally in masculine-typed activities with both sons and daughters indicating that they may be less sensitive to masculine gender-typed roles than men (Jacklin et al., 1984; Lindsey & Mize, 2001; MacDonald & Park, 1984). In light of previously cited research (Freeman, 2007), it seems plausible that the traits typically associated with masculinity are more accepted to be permissible for females than are feminine traits for males. ‘Tom-boys’ or assertive females may not be perceived as negatively in society as males who demonstrate characteristically feminine qualities.

Gender socialization in play. While it appears that gender may influence parent play behaviors, researchers continue to find conflicting results related to parenting, gender, and play. Some researchers have found that parents are more likely to initiate sex typed play with their children (Fisher-Thompson, 1990; Jacklin et al., 1984) while others find that fathers and mothers do not parent differently based on child gender (Lytton & Romney, 1991). The inconsistent findings have led to speculations that context is an important factor in parenting and play interactions (Lindsey & Mize, 2001; Leaper, 2000). It is possible that attitudes toward sex-type

roles and play may lead to parents facilitating contextually specific interactions based on child gender. Specifically, Lindsey and Mize (2001) assert that parents likely interact with their children similarly across many contexts but at times differentiate interactions with their children based on gender-role attitudes toward types of activities. For example, a father might engage his son in hard labor outdoors, more often than his daughter, because of gender-role beliefs. In other activity contexts, a father's behaviors toward a son and daughter might not differ; however, both sons and daughters may not be given equal opportunity to interact in these context with a father. In order to examine the role of context in play, Leaper (2000) researched parent-child interactions within specific stereotyped play contexts. Feminine stereotyped play often included cooperative pretend play and collaborative styles of interacting. Masculine typed play on the other hand, involved more independence and tended to emphasize high levels of assertion and less cooperation. It was found that generally parents' behaviors toward their sons and daughters did not differ; contextual differences, however, were found based on the play activity. Girls were encouraged more than boys to participate in play activities emphasizing collaborative play. Both mothers and fathers demonstrated higher levels of cooperative behaviors during the feminine stereotyped play than in the masculine stereotyped play activities. Parents were least likely to utilize assertive behaviors or cooperative behaviors when they were with the opposite gender child participating in an opposite gendered activity. Both mothers and fathers tended to be least assertive with their sons during unstructured masculine typed play. Mothers were more likely than fathers to accommodate the child's behavior during the play and allow for more assertiveness on the child's part. Consequently, the authors noted that the children also behaved differently with their parents based on gender, as both genders were generally more assertive with mothers than fathers.

Lindsey and Mize (2001) assert that these contextually based interactions may perpetuate the socialization of specific gender roles for children. They, too, studied contextually based parent-child play and found significant gender differences. Fathers were more likely to use power assertions with boys than girls, whereas they would give polite commands to daughters. Fathers were more egalitarian in their play with daughters and utilized more assertive play strategies in general with sons. Mothers on the other hand, were more likely to set rules with sons using both power assertions and polite commands. They were also more likely to use play strategies that actively engaged play but allowed for autonomous choice on the child's part with sons. Contextually they found that mother-daughter and father-daughter dyads engaged in more pretend play than mother-son or father-son dyads. Mother-child dyads participated in more pretend play than father-child dyads, but more so with daughters than sons. Father-son dyads played more physically than did father-daughter dyads. However, the amount of physical play did not differ between mother-daughter and mother-son dyads. These findings corroborate others studies results that parents perceive girls to exhibit more pretend play than boys and mothers are more likely to engage children in pretend play, particularly daughters (Gleason, 2005; Langlois & Downs, 1980; Tamis-LeMonda & Bornstein, 1991). Similarly, past research supports the findings that male interactions tend to be characterized by power and dominance and female interactions by interpersonal closeness and support (Leaper et al., 1998).

An example of parental differential treatment of girls and boys can also be found in perceptions toward toys. Parent attitudes toward toys can influence the way that children play and develop gender-role attitudes. Research suggests that parents are more likely to buy gender-typed toys for their children (Fisher-Thompson, 1993), both with and without a requests from their child. Adult attitudes toward toys in general tend to differentiate toys according to gender

stereotypes with masculine toys requiring more activity than feminine toys. While parents are likely to categorize toys into gender categories, some research suggests that during play with their children, parents' behaviors and attitudes are at times incongruent and that parents often engage in parent-child play with cross-gender toys (Idle, Wood, & Desmarais, 1993).

Parents' perceived attitudes towards gender roles and their play behaviors are not always aligned and thus, a good indication that parenting attitudes and parent behaviors are not always congruent (Brody et al., 1999; Holden & Edwards, 1989). For example, Freeman (2007) surveyed parents to gather information about parental attitudes towards gender roles for their children. Parents intentionally rejected common gender stereotypes and wanted their children to be provided with equal recreational, educational, and career opportunities. However, their survey response indicated that their behavioral responses to their children's play actually supported typical gender roles. Overall, parents seemed most concerned with boys engaging in behavior most typically perceived as feminine. These findings are in line with others that found that parents react less positively to children when they engage in cross-gender typed activities (Caldera, Huston, & O'Brien, 1989; Fagot, 1978; Leaper, Leve, Strasser, & Schwartz, 1995.) Freeman (2007) also found that children categorize toys into typical gender-typed categories and perceive that their parents would approve more of them playing with gender-specific toys even when parental attitudes towards toys reject common stereo-typed toys. This finding suggests that parental behaviors toward child's play may at times project common gender stereotypes even when reported parental attitudes toward gender role expectations do not support these stereotypes. Will, Self, and Datan (1976) found an example of this in mothers' behaviors towards male infants dressed as either a boy or girl. The researchers found that although mothers reported that their behaviors toward their own infants did not differ based on child gender,

mothers behavior toward the infant in the study did differ based on the perceived gender of the child. Mothers smiled more when they believed they were holding a girl and were more likely to give a doll to a ‘girl’ and a train toy to a ‘boy.’ This research suggests that mothers’ gender role beliefs do influence her behaviors and her response to an infant may be based on gender stereotypes rather than the infant’s cues. This supports the hypothesis that parent behavior is influenced by a variety of factors (Smith, 2010; Abidin, 1992) and that professed beliefs and actual behavior are not always congruent.

Summary of the Literature

A review of the literature demonstrates that gender role attitudes influence parent level of involvement (Coltrane, 2000), parent attitudes (Lu & Chang, 2013), parent-child interactions (e.g., Langlois & Downs, 1980; Leaper, 2000) and attitudes toward play (Haight et al., 1997; Lin & Yawkey, 2013; Roopnarine & Jin, 2012;). Gender role attitudes have been found to lead to both gender typed parenting behaviors (e.g., Bentley & Fox, 1991; Conrade & Ho, 2001; Kochanska & Aksan, 2004; Platz et al., 1994) and specific expectancies for child behavior (Gleason, 2005; Freeman, 2007).

Additionally, parenting style has been demonstrated to significantly increase positive developmental outcomes even into adulthood (e.g., Karavasilis et al., 2003; Neal & Frick-Horbury, 2001). Secure attachment, empirically supported to be crucial for healthy development (e.g., Perry et al., 1996; Schore, 2001; van der Kolk & Fisler, 1994), is best established through an authoritative parenting style (e.g., Karavasilis et al., 2003), which is characterized by balancing warmth and acceptance towards the child with high expectations for mature behavior (Baumrind, 1991a; 1991b). Permissive parenting, also high in warmth and acceptance, has been found to facilitate some positive aspects of child development (Landis & Stone, 1952; Wolfradt,

et al., 2003); however, the lack of expectation for mature behavior has been shown to lead to more maladjustment. While there is evidence that culture does influence parenting practices and perspectives of parental roles, parental goals have been found to be consistent across cultures (Bornstein et al., 2011), as have the core characteristics of authoritative parenting (Robinson, et al., 1996).

Play and parenting research has demonstrated gender differences in the way that mothers and fathers interact and play with their children (e.g., Lamb, 1977; Laosa & Sigel, 1981; MacDonald & Parke, 1984; MacDonald & Parke, 1986) with fathers engaging in more rough-and-tumble play and mothers in more pretend play (e.g., Langlois & Downs, 1980). Researchers have also found that mothers and fathers value certain kinds of play differently (e.g., Haight et al., 1997; Roopnarine & Jin, 2012). For example, there is some evidence that mothers value pretend play more than fathers (Gleason, 2005). Similarly, Haight et al. (1997) found that fathers prefer rough-and-tumble play more than mothers and mothers prefer book reading or pretend play more than fathers. Research also confirms that mothers' and fathers' beliefs about play contribute to the kind of play they promote and engage in with their children (e.g., Fisher et al., 2008; Gleason, 2005; Haight et al., 1997; Holmes, 2011).

While a large body of evidence informs how gender role attitudes and parenting style individually impact child development, there is a lack of research exploring how parental gender roles attitudes might influence parenting styles. Moreover, no studies explore how both might influence parental perceptions of and valuation of play. Such research would be a valuable contribution to the literature as play has been demonstrated to be an important parent-child interaction for attachment and child development (e.g., Gayler & Evans 2001; Karavasilis et al., 2003; Kerns & Barth, 1995; Kiser et al., 1986; Slade, 1987; Janz et al., 2000; Pica, 2003) and

contribute to gender role socialization in children (Leaper, 2000; Lindsey & Mize, 2001). The present study investigated whether gender role attitudes effect parent valuation of play, if parenting style explained some of this relationship, and whether parent gender moderated this relationship. In order to examine the effects of parent attitudes on gender socialization through play, associations between reported attitudes toward play and self-reported parent play behavior was examined. Specifically, parent attitudes toward play were examined to identify how they were correlated to parent child play.

Chapter 3: Research Design and Methodology

Overarching Research Questions and Design

A correlational, moderated mediation model was used to investigate the research questions. This study explored how parental gender role attitudes effect perceptions of play as mediated by parenting style and moderated by gender (see Figure 1 for model). It was hypothesized that (1) parents with egalitarian gender role attitudes would be more likely to place higher value on child play, (2) that parenting style would mediate this relationship, and (3) parent gender would moderate this relationship; specifically, the relationship between gender role attitudes and parent perceptions of play, as mediated by parenting style, would be stronger for fathers than for mothers. It is important to note the term “gender” in this study is used in reference to participants’ self-identified gender (female, male). In addition to the main hypotheses, relationships among the variables were explored to see if parent attitudes correlated with parent play behavior. It was hypothesized that greater valuation of play and more permissive mindsets toward play would correlate with increased parent play behaviors. It was also hypothesized that egalitarian gender role attitudes would be correlated with more permissive mindsets toward cross-gender play.

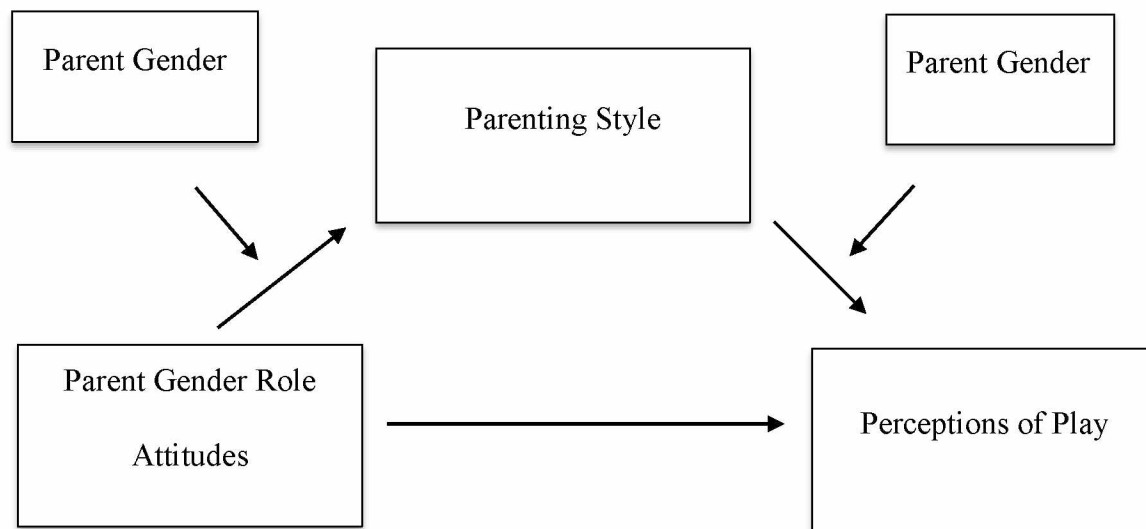


Figure 1. Parental gender role attitudes influence perceptions of play as mediated by parenting attitudes/style and moderated by parent gender

Due to limitations in reported effects sizes for similar studies, a small to medium effect size was used to estimate the necessary number of participants for this study. Results of a power analysis indicated that to detect a small to medium effect size a total of 150 participants would be needed (Faul, Erdfelder, Lang, & Buchner, 2007). Eligibility for participation in the study required parents to be at least 18 years of age and currently have at least one child of each gender between the ages of two and ten. This demographic was chosen for four reasons. First, at two years of age children begin to engage in more complex play sequences and at ten generally engage in less pretend play and gravitate toward sports (Frost et al., 2011). Secondly, as children move into the teenage years their developmental roles change and they begin to individuate from their parents (Crockett, 1997). Thirdly, the current play assessments used to assess parent child play were developed for pre-school aged (Fogle & Mendez, 2006) and elementary aged children (Morris, 2013). Finally, per the requirement of this study that each participant have both a son and daughter, providing an age range of eight years was believed to allow for a broader sample

group. Research indicates modest similarities in parenting styles within parent dyads (Winsler et al., 2005); therefore, if participants were one parent of a parenting dyad, only one parent was allowed to participate in the study, as participation of both partners could skew the final data.

Sample Characteristics

I collected participants' demographic information to include age, sex, race, intimate partner status, sexual orientation, employment status, type of employment, approximate household income, area of residence (i.e. urban, suburban, or rural), age, gender, and number of children in the home. I recruited participants from across the nation through online networking forums (see Appendix A).

Within the sample of 129 participants, the mean age was 35, ages of participants ranged from 22 to 72. After excluding non-eligible participants, the sample was comprised of 81 fathers (62.8%) and 48 mothers (37.2%). Of the participants 110 (83.7%) were married, five (3.9%) were single, five (3.9%) were divorced, and nine (7.0%) were cohabitating. Of the participants 108 (83%) identified as Caucasian, ten (7.8%) as Hispanic/Latino, five (3.9%) as African American, two (1.6%) as Native Hawaiian or Pacific Islander, and four (3.1%) identified as other. The distribution of mothers and fathers across race and ethnicity was equally distributed. Of the 129 participants, 90 (69.8%) indicated they were employed full-time while 15 (11.6%) were employed part-time, and 24 (18.6%) were unemployed. Sixty-four, almost half (49.6%) of the sample considered themselves to live in a suburban area, whereas thirty-five (27.1%) lived in an urban center, the final thirty (23.3%) participants identified as being from a rural area. The sample consisted of participants from every level of education. Three (2.3%) completed some high-school, ten (7.8%) were high school graduates, thirty-three (25.6%) had an associate's degree, thirty-one (24%) had a bachelor's degree, eight (6.2%) had completed some post-

graduate training, twenty-nine (22.5%) had a master's degree, and six (4.7%) had an advanced degree beyond a master's degree. Of the participants 101 (78.3%) indicated that spirituality or religion was important to them. Ninety-one (70.5%) endorsed Christianity, two (1.6%) Judaism, three (2.3%) Islam, and five (3.9%) other.

Analyses were completed to explore differences between mothers and fathers in the study to identify differences between the sample groups. This process was done primarily because a majority of the fathers were recruited through Qualtrics panels and offered incentives to participate. Thus, it was important to understand if there were distinct differences between the two groups. Independent sample t-tests were used to analyze differences between the means for non-categorical variables. Mann-Whitney U tests were used for all categorical variables. Out of the demographic variables only age, $t = 1.3$; $p = .027$, and employment status, $z = -3.601$; $p < .000$, were statically significant. The mean age for women was 34 (median = 33; range = 26 – 45) the mean age for fathers was 35 (median = 34; range = 22 - 72). Further review of the range suggests there were three outliers (ages 60, 62, and 72) in the father cohort which likely accounts for the significant difference in age. Employment statue was significantly different with 50% of mothers being employed full-time, 20.8% employed part-time, and 29.2% unemployed, whereas in the cohort of fathers, 66% were employed full-time, 5% employed part-time, and 10% unemployed.

Procedure

Convenience sampling was used for this project as participants were invited to participate in the study via Qualtrics.com through a variety of online forums. Participants were assured that the website would provide anonymity for participants. Qualtrics was chosen over other survey services because the principal investigator's university provides the services free of charge to

students. In addition, data from Qualtrics is easily downloaded in to SPSS, the chosen statistical software for this project. Online forums, such as Facebook, Twitter, and parenting blogs, were used to recruit parents for the study. These forums were chosen in order to reach a diverse sample. In addition fathers were recruited through the use of Qualtrics research panels in order to increase the number of male participants in the study. Upon completion of the survey, the participants' answers were transmitted to a secure online database. Data was collected until the desired sample size was reached. Midway through the recruitment process it was determined that fathers were not participating at the same rate as mothers. Qualtrics was contracted to recruit 75 fathers that fit all the eligibility criteria, to participate in the survey. Qualtrics recruited participants from their national research panels, and provided incentives such as cash honorariums to each participant. Qualtrics recruited 86 fathers through online modalities for the study.

The survey battery used for the study included the Traditional-Egalitarian Sex Role scale (TESR; Larsen & Long 1988), Child-rearing Sex Role Attitudes Scale (CRSRS; Burge, 1981), The Parenting Styles and Dimensions Questionnaire (PSDQ; Robinson, Mandleco, Frost Olsen & Hart, 2001), The Parent Play Beliefs Scale (PPBS; Fogle & Mendez, 2006), and a demographic questionnaire. See below for psychometric information on these measures.

Before agreeing to participate in the study, participants were provided an informed consent explaining the purpose of the study, the voluntary nature of the study, eligibility criteria, the risks involved in participating, methods used to protect the identity of each participant, and contact information for the primary investigator for further questions. The average time taken to complete the survey was 22 minutes. A debriefing statement was presented at the end of the survey in order to provide the contact information for the National Alliance for Mental Illness

(NAMI) as a resource for participants in the event that the participant experienced distress as a result of their participation.

Measures

Participants completed the following measures in one session. Once a participant completed the survey, it was submitted online via Qualtrics.com.

General gender role attitudes. The Traditional Egalitarian Sex Role Scale (TESR; Larsen & Long, 1988) is a 20 item self-report scale measuring attitudes towards traditional-egalitarian beliefs about gender roles. A five-point Likert scale ranging from Strongly Disagree (1) to Strongly Agree (5) is used to endorse agreement that reflects either egalitarian or traditional attitudes. The items assess a spectrum of areas related to gender expectations including: education, parental roles, marital roles, and personality traits (Beere, 1990). Twelve items specifically compare men and women, an example question being *it is just as important to educate daughters as it is to educate sons* (Larsen & Long, 1988). Four items each separately assess gender expectations for females and males. An example of a gender specific item is, *women should be more concerned with clothing and appearance than men* (Larsen & Long, 1988). The TESR is intended for use with late teen and adult populations. High scores indicate egalitarian gender-role attitudes while low scores indicate more traditional gender-role attitudes. The Spearman-Brown formula yielded $\alpha = .91$ reliability, and split-half reliability is $\alpha = .85$ (Larsen & Long, 1988). In this study, the internal consistency reliability is strong ($\alpha = .88$).

Gender role attitudes in childrearing. Child-Rearing Sex Role Attitudes Scale (CRSRS; Burge, 1981) is a 28-item self-report scale that measures traditional versus nontraditional views of gender roles. This assessment, developed to ascertain adults' gender role attitudes, compares boys and girls on diverse topic areas such as behaviors, emotional

expression, activities, and career goals. A five-point Likert scale ranging from Strongly Disagree (1) to Strongly Agree (5) was used to endorse agreement that reflects either egalitarian or traditional attitudes towards childrearing. Seven items are phrased so that agreement reflects egalitarian gender role attitudes towards childrearing such as *I would buy my son and daughter the same kind of toys* (Burge, 1981). The scale was developed so that low scores reflect a traditional gender role attitude. An example item is *only boys should be permitted to play competitive sports* (Burge, 1981). The scores on the Child-Rearing Sex-Role Attitude Scale were correlated with scores on the Osmond-Martin Sex-Role Attitudes Scale (Osmond & Martin, 1975). The correlation between the two scales was originally found to be .69. Internal consistency reliability was $\alpha = .92$ (Beere, 1990). A modified 19-item Child-rearing Sex Role Attitudes Scale, adapted from Burge (1981), was used for this study. This modified version is taken from Freeman (2007), who originally adapted the scale to explore parental beliefs about gender typed toys. The internal consistency reliability for this sample was $\alpha = .90$.

Parenting attitudes and styles. The Parenting Styles Dimensions Questionnaire (PSDQ; Robinson, Mandleco, Frost Olsen & Hart, 2001) is a 62-item self-report measure validated to assess parenting styles along Baumrind's (1971) three dimensions of parenting (authoritarian, authoritative, and permissive). The PSDQ, originally called the Parenting Practices Questionnaire (PPQ; Robinson, Mandleco, Frost Olsen & Hart, 1995) is comprised of items both created and adapted from other measures including the Childrearing Practices Report (CRPR; Block, 1965). Items assess parenting practices for parents of preadolescent children, using a five-point Likert scale ranging from Never (1) to Always (5). The scale has both a self-report and spousal report feature. Only the self-report feature was used for the present study. Originally, factor analysis confirmed the PPQ to measure parenting behaviors along Baumrind's

three typologies (Robinson et al., 1995). The PPQ/PSDQ is acclaimed as one of few instruments to have psychometrically sound scales related to parental nurturance and discipline (Locke & Prinz, 2002). Additionally, the measure has been adapted and used successfully in multiple cultural settings (Coolahan, McWayne, Fantuzzo, & Grim, 2002; Hart, Nelson, Robinson, Olson, & McNeilly-Choque, 1998; Wu et al., 2002).

The PSDQ yields a separate and continuous score for each parenting style with higher numbers indicating greater reported use of a particular parenting style. The Authoritative scale (27 items) includes items such as *gives comfort and understanding when child is upset* and *allows child to give input into family roles* (Robinson et al., 2001). The Authoritative scale produces subscales for Warmth and Involvement (11 items), Reasoning/Induction (7 items), Democratic Participation (5 items), and Good Natured/Easy Going (4 items). The Authoritarian scale (20 items) includes items such as *spanks when our child is disobedient* and *scolds and criticizes to make child improve* (Robinson et al., 2001), and yields subscales for Verbal Hostility (4 items), Corporal Punishment (6 items), Non-Reasoning/Punitive Strategies (6 items), and Directiveness (4 items). The Permissive scale (15 items) includes items such as *I spoil my child* and *I give into my child when he/she causes a commotion about something*. The Permissive scale gives subscales for Lack of Follow Through (6 items), Ignoring Misbehavior (4 items), and Self-Confidence (5 items). Internal consistency reliabilities were averaged for mothers' and fathers' reports and found to be $\alpha = .91$, $\alpha = .86$, and $\alpha = .75$ for the Authoritative, Authoritarian, and Permissive scales respectively (Robinson et al., 1995). In this sample the consistency reliabilities were $\alpha = .87$, $\alpha = .91$, and $\alpha = .88$ for the Authoritative, Authoritarian, and Permissive scales respectively.

Parent perceptions of play. The Parent Play Beliefs Scale (PPBS; Fogle & Mendez, 2006) is a validated scale used to assess parents' beliefs about play. This scale measures two factors: Play Support ($\alpha = .90$) which captures parents' beliefs about play as an enjoyable activity with many developmental benefits, and Academic Focus ($\alpha = .73$) which reflects parents' beliefs that play is not important for general development or developing academic skills such as reading (Fogle & Mendez, 2006). The questionnaire was originally developed with only mothers but since then has been used also with fathers (Lin & Yawkey, 2013). The PPBS was developed collaboratively with experts in the field of child development, Head Start parents, and staff. Items were chosen to represent various parent beliefs about play to include the developmental significance of play, parent participation in play, and enjoyment of play. This self-report questionnaire is considered to be a short form tool and is scored on a five-point scale from Strongly Disagree (1) to Strongly Agree (5).

The first factor, Play Support, includes 17 items with examples being *play can help my child develop better thinking abilities*, *playing at home will help my child get ready for kindergarten*, and *I can teach my child social skills during play* (Fogle & Mendez, 2006). High scores on this scale reflect positive beliefs about the value of play, its value as an enjoyable activity, and its many developmental benefits for children. The second factor, Academic Focus, includes 8 items such as *I do not think my child learns important skills by playing*, and *reading to my child is more worthwhile than playing with him or her* (Fogle & Mendez, 2006). This factor represents negative beliefs about the value of play. Parents with high scores on this factor are likely to perceive play as irrelevant to the development of social and cognitive skills and likely value academically oriented activities more than play activities. For the present study, wording for some of the questions was modified to reflect the age expansion (ages two to ten). This is not

the first time this scale has been modified for use with a broader sample group. The PPBS was successfully modified for similar reasons for a previous study (Lin & Yawkey, 2013) and used with parents of children ages four to seven. For this study internal consistency reliability overall was $\alpha = .90$, Play Support was $\alpha = .91$, and Academic Focus $\alpha = .82$.

In addition to the PPBS, an additional 14 items were devised to measure how gender role attitudes manifest in parents' everyday interactions with their children. Four items were adapted from the Mothers' Perceptions of their Children's Play scale (MPCP; Morris, 2013) to measure parent beliefs related to sex-typed play. These four items comprised a scale measuring mindset toward cross-gender play on the MPCP. An example item is *boys should be discouraged from playing with girls' toys and games* (Fogle & Mendez, 2006). For the present sample, internal consistency reliability was $\alpha = .94$. In addition to the items from the MPCP, 10 other items were developed to measure parents' attitudes toward certain kinds of play as well as parent play behavior. Two items measured parents' valuation of rough and tumble and make-believe play for children's development. An example item is, *Physical play is important for children's development*. Two items assess parents' gender-typed attitudes toward these two kinds of play. An example item is, *I think it is more important for boys to play rough (i.e. wrestling, climbing, physical sports) than it is for girls*. The eight items above use a five-point Likert scale ranging from Strongly Disagree (1) to Strongly Agree (5). Six items measure the extent to which parents engage in play with their children. These questions use a five-point Likert scale to measure frequency ranging from Daily (1) to Never (5). An example item from this set of questions is, *In the past week I played with my son(s)*.

Data Analytic Plan

Data analysis was conducted using SPSS 22 software. The initial analyses used demographic information to establish sample characteristics and control for the effect of these characteristics on the results of further analysis. Subsequent to computing total scores for each variable, missing data were replaced with the series mean. In order to create a total score for the traditional and egalitarian indices, correlational analysis of the TERS and CRSRS subscales were completed. The traditional subscales, one from the TERS and one from the CRSRS, were highly correlated; therefore, the mean score of the traditional subscale of each measure was combined to create a total mean score for traditional. Likewise, the mean score of each of the two egalitarian scales were combined to create a total mean score for egalitarian. Reliability analyses were conducted to establish the internal consistency and estimate reliability coefficients for each measure. Multiple regression analysis was used to establish whether there was a direct effect of the independent variable (X- Parent Gender Role Attitudes) on the dependent variable (Y- Perceptions of Play), (X- Parent Gender Role Attitudes) on the mediator (M- Parenting Style), and (X- Parent Gender Role Attitudes) on the dependent variable (Y- Perceptions of Play) while controlling for the mediator (M- Parenting Style). Two gender role indices were used (traditional gender role and egalitarian gender role) to establish whether there was a direct effect of the independent variable (X- Parent Gender Role Attitudes) on the dependent variable (Y- Parent valuation of Play for Development). The model was run twice, once with X (Traditional) and again with X (Egalitarian), to identify the effects of these two types of gender role attitudes on perceptions of play. Similarly, three parenting style indices (authoritative, authoritarian, and permissive) were used to calculate how well parenting style predicts perceptions of play. The relationship between the gender role attitude indices (traditional and egalitarian) and the

parenting style indices (authoritative, authoritarian, and permissive) was calculated to determine if gender role attitudes predicted parenting style.

To further explore the moderated mediation model, bootstrapping analyses were used to detect indirect relationships between the variables of interest. PROCESS (Hayes, 2013) software was used to complete the bootstrapping analysis. Bootstrapping is a resampling strategy used to create a pseudo-population that represents the broader population sample. The sampling distribution is then generated by “calculating the statistics of interest in multiple resamples of the data set” (Preacher Rucker, & Hays, 2007, p. 190). This analysis approach was used because it has more power than other methods of analysis and thus is more sensitive to detecting effects, thereby decreasing the probability of Type I error. Another advantage to this method is that the assumptions of sampling distribution do not need to be met. As in the regression, each model was run twice to calculate the indirect effects and conditional indirect effects. Additionally, there were three measures of parent valuing of play explored: valuation of play for developmental purposes, mindset toward cross-gendered play, and attitudes toward physically rough play and make believe play as gender typed play activities. The relationship between the predictor variable (X – Parent Gender Role Attitudes) and outcome variable (Y- Parent valuation of Play for Development) through the mediator (M- Parenting Style) was explored by running the model three times. The demographic variables level of education, age, area of residence, marital status, and spirituality were entered as covariates to see whether they had an effect on the predictor or mediation variables. PROCESS was first used to test for a mediation effect, that is an indirect effect of X on Y through the mediator M to test $a, b,$ and c' . After establishing a mediation was present, PROCESS was then used to assess for the statistical significance of the moderated paths (\hat{a}_1 and \hat{b}_1); that is, whether W (Parent Gender) moderated the relationship

between X (Parent Gender Role Attitudes) and M (Parenting Style), path \hat{a}_1 , as well as the relationship between M (Parent Attitudes) and Y (Perceptions of Play), path \hat{b}_1 (Figure 2). PROCESS estimates the total direct effect of X on the outcome variable Y, and the indirect effects of X on the outcome variable Y through the mediator variables M, as well as the conditional indirect effects when W is considered. These effects are reported using 95% confidence intervals, with a significant effect being entirely above or below zero.

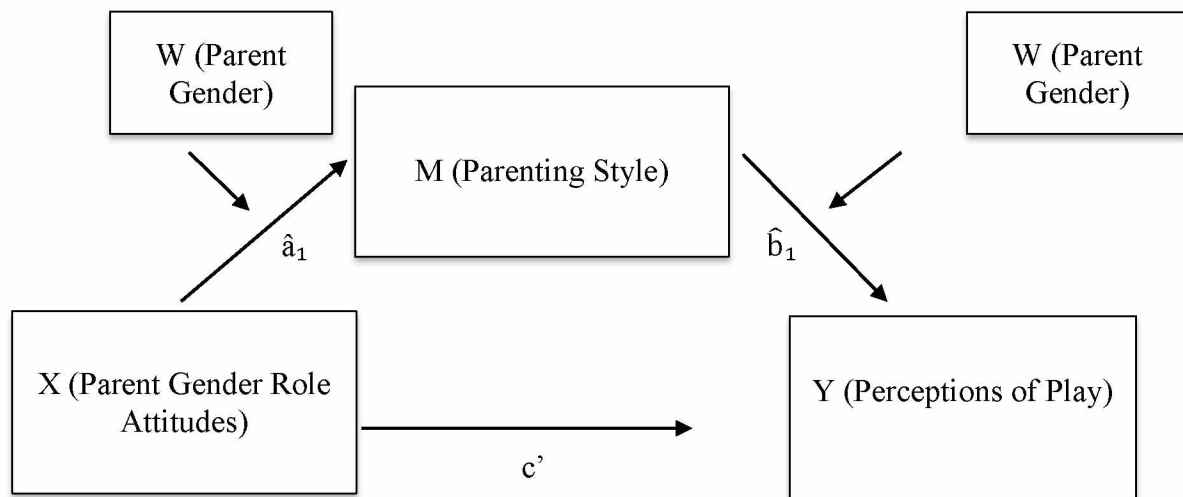


Figure 2. The indirect effect of X (Parent Gender Role Attitudes) on Y (Perceptions of Play) through the mediator M (Parenting Style) path c' and the moderating effects of W (parent Gender) on the mediating paths \hat{a}_1 and \hat{b}_1 .

Chapter 4: Results

Data Screening

Prior to data analysis, an initial sample of 227 participants was reviewed to determine that participation criteria was met. Only 174 participants completed the full survey. Further screening was done, and participants who did not clearly indicate having at least one son and daughter between the ages of two and ten were excluded. Likewise, participants who had not completed the full survey (i.e. terminated before finishing the survey) were excluded. The final sample included 129 participants. Distributions of the continuous variables were explored to assess univariate normality. The values of skewness and kurtosis provided information about the shape of the distribution of each of the measures and subscales for each measure. The results suggested that the distributions for parent attitudes towards play for development, gender role attitudes, and parenting styles were not significantly skewed.

Descriptive statistics. Frequency statistics showed that, on average, parents reported playing with their children several times a week, with 50% of the scores falling below or above 4 (most days). The same was found for the frequency of parents playing physically with their sons and daughters. On average, parents engaged in make-believe play with their sons and daughters at least once a week, with 50% of the scores falling below or above 3 (several times a week). A Mann Whitney U test was conducted to evaluate differences between parent genders among the frequency of play behaviors variables. The only significant difference between mothers and fathers play behaviors with their children was in physically rough play with daughters, $z = -2.14$, $p = .032$. On average, mothers engaged in physically rough play with daughters more than fathers (mothers *Mean Rank* = 73.8; fathers *Mean Rank* = 59.9).

Independent sample t-tests were conducted to evaluate differences between parent genders among the main variables. Fathers were more likely to hold traditional gender role attitudes than mothers, $t = -5.39, p < .000$, with there being no difference for the egalitarian gender role attitudes scale (see Table 1). On average mothers were more likely to have a higher valuation of play for child development than fathers, $t = -2.26, p = .002$. Mothers were also more likely than fathers to have permissive mindsets toward cross-gender play, $t = -5.31, p < .000$, including sex-type play (physically rough and make-believe play), $t = -4.58, p = .002$.

Table 1

Means and Standard Deviations for Gender Role Attitudes and Parenting Style

Gender Role Attitudes	Mothers		Fathers	
	M	SD	M	SD
Traditional	54	6.6	44.7	10.9
Egalitarian	25.7	3.3	24.2	3.7
Parenting Style				
Authoritative	105.3	7.71	104	13.4
Authoritarian	48.1	5.7	55.5	13.8
Permissive	27.3	10.9	30.7	10

Note. M = mean; SD = standard deviation

There was not a significant difference between mothers' and fathers' attitudes toward make-believe play being important for the development of social skills. Finally, there was a significant difference between mothers' and fathers' valuation of physically rough play for child development, $t = -1.428, p = .025$. Mothers on average were less likely to believe that physically rough play was important for child development (see Table 2). There was a significant gender difference for each of the parent styles (authoritative; $t =$

$-.607, p < .000$; authoritarian; $t = 3.55, p < .000$; permissive; $t = 2.20, p < .000$) (see Table 1).

Mothers on average were higher in authoritative parenting while fathers were more likely to have an authoritarian or permissive parenting style.

Correlation analyses. For each of the variables, except traditional gender role attitudes, a high score indicated higher agreement with that construct. For example, a high score on the egalitarian scale indicates more egalitarian attitudes. However, because of reverse scaling of the gender measures, a low score on the traditional scale indicates more traditional attitudes toward gender role. For the sake of clarity, the direction of correlations between traditional gender role attitudes and other variables is interpreted to reflect the more logical relationship. For example, instead of interpreting the correlation between lower levels of traditional attitudes and higher levels of egalitarian attitudes as positive, $r = .358$, it is explained as a negative correlation, $r = -.358$.

Correlation coefficients were computed among the subscales of the predictor and mediator variables. It was determined that the following had significant correlations: As expected, traditional gender role attitudes were negatively correlated with importance of play for child development and permissive mindsets about cross-gender play, whereas egalitarian gender role attitudes were positively correlated with both. Egalitarian gender role attitudes were not significantly correlated with any of the parenting style dimensions; however, traditional gender role attitudes were positively correlated with both authoritarian and permissive parenting styles.

Table 2

*Means and Standard Deviations for Parent Attitudes
Toward Play*

Attitudes Toward Play	Mothers		Fathers	
	M	SD	M	SD
Valuation for Child Development	105.3	7.6	101	11.7
Sex-Typed Play	4	0.78	3.2	1.1
Attitudes Toward Cross-Gender Play	16.8	2.6	13	4.4
Physical Play Important for Development	4.4	0.5	4.2	0.8
Make Believe Play Important for Development	4.4	0.54	4	0.89
Attitudes Toward Physically Rough Play	3.8	1	3	1.2
Attitudes toward Make Believe play	4.2	0.7	3.4	1.3

*Note. M = mean; SD = standard deviation. Low scores of
Attitudes Toward Physically Rough and Make Believe
play indicate higher valuation*

Authoritative parenting style was positively correlated with higher valuation of play for child development, whereas both authoritarian and permissive parenting styles were negatively correlated with parent valuation of play for the purposes of child development. Both authoritarian and permissive parenting styles were negatively correlated with permissive mindsets towards cross-gender play. Additionally, parents who were more authoritarian and

permissive in their parenting styles were more likely to perceive physical play and make-believe play as gender-typed play activities.

Further analysis of the other play variables showed additional correlations. Higher valuation of play for child development was positively correlated to more permissive mindsets toward cross-gender play including physically rough and make-believe play. Furthermore, valuing play highly for child development was positively correlated with higher parent-child play behavior for both sons and daughters. Interestingly, a higher valuing of play for child development was positively correlated with physical play for both sons and daughters as well as make-believe play with daughters but not sons. An authoritative parenting style was found to be positively correlated with all parenting play behavior variables, indicating that parents who are higher in authoritative parenting engage in more play with their children. Conversely, an authoritarian parenting style was negatively correlated with overall parent play behaviors (see Table 3).

Correlation analyses were completed to explore whether beliefs about gender-typed play were associated with parent play behaviors with their children. There was a significant correlation between mindset about gender-typed play and overall parent play behavior. Permissive mindsets toward gender-typed play was highly correlated with permissive beliefs toward physically rough and make-believe play, indicating that parents with generally permissive mindsets toward gender-typed play were likely to believe that physically rough play was as appropriate for girls as it was for boys and that make-believe play was as appropriate for boys as it was for girls. However, there were no significant correlations between mindsets toward gender typed play and parent engagement in physically rough or make-believe play with their children. Finally, overall parent play behavior was positively correlated with all parent play behavior

variables for both sons and daughters. This suggests that parents who play with their children, play equally with their sons and daughters and are likely to engage in cross-gender play, pretend play and make-believe play, with both their sons and daughters (see Table 3).

In addition to correlations among the variables of interest, there were significant correlations among two of the demographic variables. Parental education levels were positively correlated with an authoritative parenting style, meaning that parents who identified as having a more authoritative parenting style also reported having higher levels of education. In addition, spirituality was correlated to attitudes toward play and gender role attitudes. Parents who indicated that spirituality was important to them were less likely to have a permissive mindset toward cross-gender play and less likely to view physically rough and make-believe play as appropriate for both genders. Moreover, parents who indicated that spirituality was important to them were more likely to hold traditional gender role attitudes, and those who indicated spirituality was not important to them were more likely to have egalitarian gender role attitudes.

Regression analysis. For the overall multiple regression to predict parent valuation of play from the egalitarian and traditional gender role attitudes, $R = .43$ and $R^2 = .18$, that is, when gender role attitudes were used as predictors 18% of the variance in parent valuing of play could be predicted. The overall regression was significant, $F(2,126) = 14, p < .001$. Traditional gender role attitudes was significantly predictive of a lower valuation of play when parenting style was statistically controlled, $t(126) = 2.12, p < .05$. The slope to predict valuation of play from a traditional gender role attitudes was, $b = .194$. A direct effect was not found for egalitarian attitudes and parent valuation of play.

When gender role attitudes and parenting style were used to predict parent valuation of play, $R = .62$ and $R^2 = .38$, meaning that when both gender role attitudes and parenting styles

were used as predictors 38% of the variance in parent perspectives towards play could be predicted. The overall regression was significant, $F(5,123) = 15, p < .001$. Authoritative parenting style was significantly predictive of a higher valuation of play when gender role attitudes were statistically controlled, $t(123) = 4.92, p < .001$. The slope to predict parent valuation of play from authoritative parenting was, $b = .324$. Permissive parenting style was significantly predictive of lower valuation of play for child development when gender role perspectives were statistically controlled, $t(126) = -2.13, p < .05$. The slope to predict parent perceptions of play from permissive parenting was approximately, $b = -.260$. A direct effect was not found for authoritarian parenting style.

Table 3

Correlations Between Variables of Interest

	PFCD	AvPS	AaPS	PPS	PMCGP	M_STP	TGRA	EGRA	PPBxS	PPBxD	PPhPS	PPhPD	PMBPS	PMBPD	M_PPbX
PFCD	..														
AvPS	.437**	..													
AaPS	-.411**	-.130	..												
PPS	-.404**	-.141	.689**	..											
PMCGP	.453**	.087	-.571**	-.371**	..										
M_STP	.363**	.059	-.596**	-.429**	.761**	..									
TGRA	.420**	.154	-.558**	-.389**	.791**	.788**	..								
EGRA	.218*	.103	-.135	.001	.454**	.417**	.358**	..							
PPBxS	.360**	.375**	-.165	-.141	.180*	.048	.091	.125	..						
PPBxD	.373**	.385**	-.181*	-.114	.184*	.052	.094	.123	.898**	..					
PPhPS	.357**	.397**	-.149	-.142	.125	.002	.056	.118	.745**	.786**	..				
PPhPD	.276**	.275**	-.062	-.061	.120	.015	.021	.130	.601**	.702**	.845**	..			
PMBPS	.057	.191*	.021	.092	.030	-.034	-.031	.169	.504**	.550**	.537**	.538**	..		
PMBPD	.191*	.229**	.026	.073	.077	-.037	-.012	.152	.520**	.615**	.584**	.574**	.826**	..	
M_PPbX	.376**	.390**	-.177*	-.131	.187*	.051	.095	.127	.976**	.972**	.785**	.667**	.540**	.581**	..

Note. PFCD = Play for Child Development. AvPS = Authoritative Parenting Style. AaPS = Authoritarian Parenting Style. PPS = Permissive Parenting Style. PMCGP = Parent Mindset Toward Cross-Gender Play. M_STP = mean score for Parent Attitudes Toward Physical and Make-Believe Play as Sex Typed. TGRS = Traditional Gender Role Attitudes (higher scores represent more egalitarian attitudes). EGRA = Egalitarian Gender Role Attitudes. PPBxS = Parent Play Behavior with Son. PPBxD = Parent Play Behavior with Daughter. PPhPS = Parent Physical Play with Son. PPhPD = Parent Physical Play with Daughter. PMBPS = Parent Make-Believe Play Behavior with Son. PMBPD = Parent Make-Believe Play Behavior with Daughter. M_PPbX = Mean Score of PPBxS and PPBxD.

* $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$

Moderated mediation analysis. Parenting style was tested as a mediator of the effects of parent gender role attitudes on parent valuation of play while moderated by parent gender using the PROCESS (Hayes, 2013) bootstrapping approach. One thousand random samples were used from the original data to calculate the indirect effects. Effects are only considered to be significant if the confidence interval does not include zero. The moderated mediation model was run twice in order to calculate the conditional indirect effect for two different dependent variables for parent valuation of play, Y (parent valuation of play for child development) and Y (parent attitudes towards cross-gender play). Egalitarian gender role attitudes did have a direct effect on parent perceptions of play for both models, meaning that parents with egalitarian attitudes reported a higher valuation of play for child development and more permissive mindsets toward cross-gender play (see Table 4). However, the mediation model was insignificant for each because the confidence intervals included zero. These findings demonstrate precisely why bootstrapping can be a more helpful analysis when looking for effects. A direct effect was not found between egalitarian gender role attitudes and parent perceptions of play in the initial multiple regression analyses. However, a direct effect was shown by increasing the power through the use of bootstrapping.

There was a significant direct effect of traditional gender role attitudes on parent valuation of play for child development, $c = .2407, p = .0067$ (see Table 5). This finding suggests that parents with traditional attitudes have a lower valuation of play for child development. Traditional gender role perspectives was also found to influence valuation of play for child development through a permissive parenting style, $ab = .0751, CIs [.0115, .1761]$ (see Table 6).

Table 4

Direct Effect of Egalitarian Gender Role Perspectives on Parent Perspectives of Play

Perceptions of Play	Direct Effect	Product of Coefficients		Bootstrapping	
		<i>SE</i>	<i>p</i>	Bias Corrected and Accelerated 95% CI	
				LL	UL
Play for Child Development	0.4577	0.2174	0.0373	0.0274	0.8879
Mindset Toward Cross-Gender play	0.4305	0.0805	0.0000	0.2441	0.5629

Note. n = 129. Number of bootstrap resamples = 1000. CI = confidence intervals; LL = lower limit, UP = upper limit

This finding means a permissive parenting style accounted for a significant amount of the variance in the relationships between traditional gender role attitudes on valuation of play for child development. The moderated mediation model was accounted for by the significant conditional indirect effect for fathers CIs [.0426, .3754]. This result suggests that fathers with traditional gender role attitudes are likely to have a lower valuation of play for child development and some of the variance in the relationship is explained through a permissive parenting style (see Figure 3). There was not a significant effect for mothers.

Table 5

Direct Effect of Traditional Gender Role Perspectives on Parent Perceptions of Play

Perceptions of Play	Direct Effect	Product of Coefficients		Bootstrapping	
		<i>SE</i>	<i>p</i>	Bias Corrected and Accelerated 95% CI	
				LL	UL
Play for Child Development	0.2407	0.0873	0.0067	0.0679	0.4135
Mindset Toward Cross-Gender play	0.2617	0.0262	0.0000	0.2098	0.3136

Note. $n = 129$. Number of bootstrap resamples = 1000. CI = confidence intervals; LL = lower limit, UP = upper limit

There was also a significant direct effect for traditional gender role attitudes on parent beliefs about cross-gender play behaviors, $c = .2617$, $p = .0000$ (see Table 5), suggesting that traditional attitudes are predictive of less permissive mindsets toward cross-gender play. Traditional gender role attitudes had a significant indirect effect on parent beliefs about gender typed play behaviors through an authoritarian parenting style, $ab = .0462$, CI s [.0070, .0916] (see Table 7). There was a conditional indirect effect for fathers CI s [.004, .0971]. This finding suggests that fathers with a traditional gender role attitudes had less permissive mindsets toward cross-gender play behaviors through an authoritarian parenting style (see Figure 3). This effect was not significant for mothers suggesting that parenting style does not account for any of the variance in the relationship between traditional gender role attitudes and attitudes toward cross-gender play.

Table 6

Indirect Effect of Traditional Gender Role Perspectives on Valuation of Play for Child Development through Parenting Style

	Indirect Effect	Product of Coefficients		Bootstrapping	
		<i>SE</i>	<i>p</i>	Bias Corrected and Accelerated 95% CI	
				LL	UL
Permissive Parenting	0.0751	0.0399	0.0067	0.0115	0.1761
Total	0.1811	0.0873	0.0863	0.0115	0.1761

Note. n = 129. Number of bootstrap resamples = 1000.

As a moderated mediation model was found for traditional gender role perspectives and parent valuation of play, a moderation mediation analysis was performed to examine whether gender moderated the relationship of traditional gender role attitudes and parent attitudes toward physical play and make believe play as gender-typed child play. There was a significant effect for traditional gender role perspectives on these play behaviors as gender-typed, $c = .0662$, $p = .0000$. Traditional gender role attitudes had a significant indirect effect on parent beliefs about these play behaviors as gender-typed through an authoritarian parenting style, $ab = .0116$, CIs [.0021, .0230] (see Table 8). There was a conditional indirect effect for fathers, CIs [.0052, .0263]. This suggests that fathers with traditional gender role attitudes were more likely to perceive physically rough and make-believe play as gender-typed play through an authoritarian an authoritarian parenting style.

In addition to the primary moderation mediation analysis conducted, bootstrapping was used to examine whether gender moderated the relationship between X (gender role perspectives) and Y (parent perceptions of play). Gender did not moderate the relationships between egalitarian gender role attitudes and any of the parent perceptions of play variables (play for child development, mindsets toward cross-gendered play, attitudes about physically rough and make-belief play as gendered-typed play). Similarly, gender did not moderate the relationship between traditional gender role attitudes and mindsets toward cross-gender play. However, there was a significant conditional effect for traditional gender role attitudes and valuation of play for child development. For fathers only, traditional gender role attitudes were predictive of less valuing of play for child development, CIs [.2383, .6319], $p = .0000$. This finding indicates that gender role attitudes exert an effect on valuation of play for child development only in the father cohort in this study and thus carried the significant effect for the whole sample.

Table 7

*Indirect Effect of Traditional Gender Role Perspectives on Mindset
Toward Cross-Gender Play through Parenting Style*

	Indirect Effect	Product of Coefficients		Bootstrapping Bias Corrected and Accelerated 95% CI	
		<i>SE</i>	<i>p</i>	LL	UL
Authoritarian Parenting	0.0462	0.0223	0.0000	0.007	0.0916
Total	0.0367	0.0197	0.0863	0.0011	0.0763

Note. n = 129. Number of bootstrap resamples = 1000.

Table 8

*Indirect Effect of Traditional Gender Role Perspectives on Physically
Rough and Make-Believe Play through Parenting Style*

	Indirect Effect	Product of Coefficients		Bootstrapping Bias Corrected and Accelerated 95% CI	
		<i>SE</i>	<i>p</i>	LL	UL
Authoritarian Parenting	0.0116	0.0051	0.0000	0.0021	0.023
Total	0.0127	0.0043	0.0000	0.0041	0.0206

Note. n = 129. Number of bootstrap resamples = 1000.

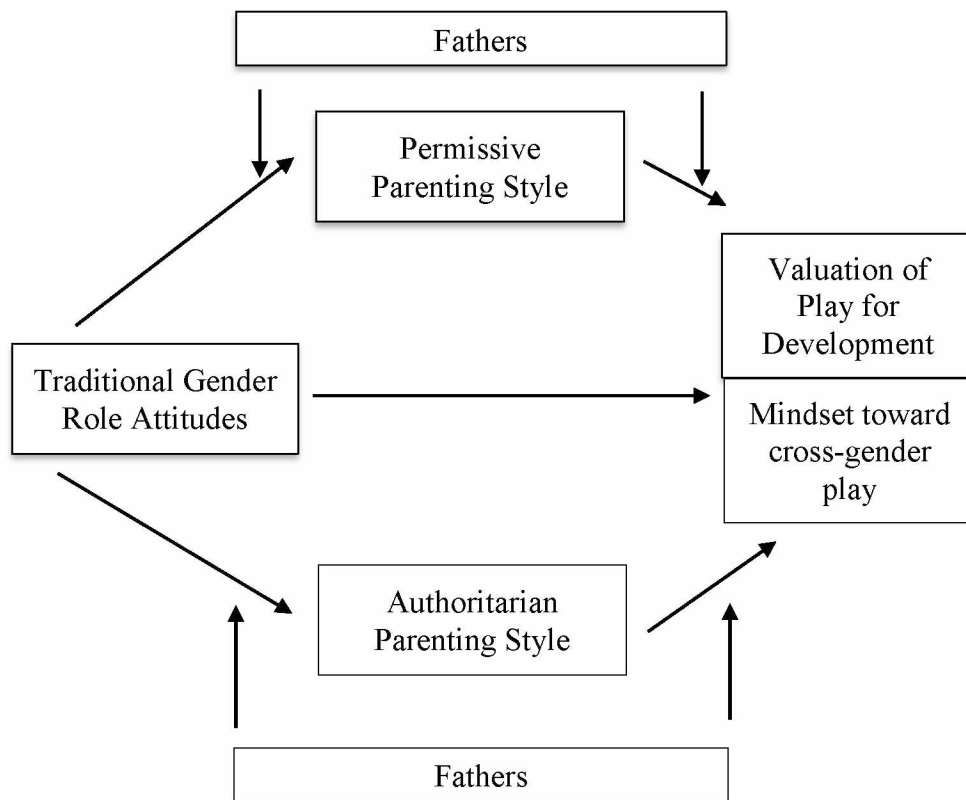


Figure 3. Traditional gender role attitudes indirect effect on perceptions of play through parenting style and moderated by gender

Chapter 5: Discussion

The present study sought to explore the relationships among parent gender role attitudes, parenting style, parent perceptions of play, and the interaction of parent gender on these variables. A correlational, moderated mediation model was used to investigate the research questions. This study aimed to explore how parental gender role attitudes influence perceptions of play as mediated by parenting style and moderated by gender. It was hypothesized that (1) parents with egalitarian gender role attitudes would be more likely to place higher value on child play, (2) that parenting style would mediate the relationship between gender role attitudes and parent perceptions of play and (3) parent gender would moderate this relationship; specifically, the relationship between gender role attitudes and parent perceptions of play, as mediated by parenting style, would be stronger for fathers than for mothers. In this study, the term “gender” is used in reference to participants’ self-identified gender (female, male).

Summary of Results in Support of Hypotheses

As hypothesized, results of the current study found that parents with egalitarian gender role attitudes were likely to value play more than those with traditional gender role attitudes. Parents with egalitarian gender role attitudes were more likely to value play for the purposes of child development as well as to have more permissive mindsets toward cross-gender play. Morris (2013) also found that mothers with more egalitarian perspectives toward gender roles were less likely to control their children’s play behaviors and allow for more child autonomy in play. The findings from the current study support the theory that parents with egalitarian gender role attitudes may place fewer restrictions on their children’s play behaviors thus valuing their child’s ability to express themselves more freely in play. This finding is consistent with previous findings that egalitarian parenting is higher in warmth and acceptance of a child’s needs

(Kingsbury & Coplan, 2012). Parents higher in nurturing and warmth seem to allow for greater child autonomy, which likely also extends to child's play. This quality may explain why these parents have both more permissive mindsets toward cross-gender play and a higher valuing of play for child development. Parents in the present study valued play for overall child development as well as the benefits of physically rough play for physical development and make-believe play for social development. The findings that parents value play is not new, as previous studies have found generally parents value play for many different reasons including emotional, cognitive, and social skill development (e.g., Haight et al., 1997; Parmar et al, 2004; Roopanarine & Jin, 2012; Shiakou & Belsky, 2013). It may be that parents with egalitarian gender role attitudes value children's exploration of cross-gender roles and view play as a developmentally appropriate opportunity for children to explore and test social roles.

Traditional gender role perspectives were also found to be associated with parents' attitudes toward play. Fathers with a traditional gender role perspective were less likely to value play for the purposes of child development. This finding is in line with previous studies that have found that fathers may be more influenced by gender stereotypes in play (Jacklin et al., 1984; Lindsey & Mize, 2001; MacDonald & Parke, 1984). It may be that fathers with traditional gender role attitudes value other kinds of experiences as contributing to their children's development over play. Further analysis found that parents with traditional gender role attitudes also had less permissive mindsets toward cross-gender play and were more likely to view physically rough play and make-believe play as gender-typed play. Similarly, Morris (2013) found that mothers who held more traditional gender role attitudes also had more rules for their children's play. Jointly, these findings suggest that parents with more traditional gender role attitudes are likely to believe that boys and girls should conform to traditional gender roles even in play. This

finding further lends support to the belief that parents' gender role attitudes may influence role socialization through play.

This study provided partial support for the second hypothesis, that is that parenting style would mediate the relationship between gender role perspectives and parent perceptions of play. Parenting style did not mediate the relationship between egalitarian attitudes and parent perceptions of play. As both egalitarian and authoritative parents share the dimensions of acceptance and warmth (e.g., Baumrind, 1967, Lu & Chang, 2013; Witt, 1997), it was hypothesized that there may be a relationship between them in explaining attitudes toward play; however, this was not supported. An authoritative parenting style did not explain attitudes toward play for parents with egalitarian gender role attitudes. On the other hand, parenting style was found to account for a significant proportion of the variance in the relationship between a traditional gender role attitude and perceptions of play. A permissive parenting style was found to mediate the relationship between traditional gender role attitudes and valuation of play for child development. Authoritarian parenting style was found to explain some of the relationship between traditional gender role attitudes and parent mindset toward cross-gender play. However, the moderated mediation analysis showed that these two indirect effects were moderated by parent gender, and that there was a conditional indirect effect only for fathers. There was not a moderated mediation effect for mothers, meaning that parenting style did not explain any of the variance in the relationship between traditional gender role attitudes and parent attitudes toward play for mothers.

These findings partially support the present study's third hypothesis that gender would moderate the indirect effect of parent gender roles on perceptions of play through parenting style, and that the conditional indirect effect would be stronger for fathers than mothers. The findings

of the conditional indirect effect for fathers in this sample is supported by previous discoveries that fathers are more influenced by gender role attitudes than mothers. For example, mothers have been found to participate equally in masculine-typed activities with both sons and daughters (Jacklin et al., 1984; Lindsey & Mize, 2001; MacDonald & Parke, 1984). In addition, fathers with traditional gender attitudes are often less involved in child rearing activities (College, 2000; Kaufman, 2005), while mothers in general report being more nurturing and involved in their child's lives (Jacklin et al., 1984; Lindsey & Mize, 2001; MacDonald & Parke, 1984).

Interestingly, the present study found permissive parenting style to have a negative relationship to valuing play for child development. It seems that fathers with traditional gender role attitudes have lower valuation of play for child development overall, but some of this influence was explained by a permissive parenting style in which fathers are less likely to be actively engaged in their child's lives and perhaps less attuned to their child's developmental needs. Therefore, they may be more likely to believe that other experiences are more important to their children's development.

Authoritarian parenting also influenced the way fathers with traditional gender role attitudes view play. This is not a surprising result as parents with this parenting style have high expectations for their children to conform to social norms and hierarchical order (Baumrind, 1967). Thus, fathers with an authoritarian parenting style may be less likely to want their children to play in ways that violate perceived social rules. They may perceive traditional gender roles as important social norms for their children to abide by and be uncomfortable with cross-gender play that would disrupt these norms.

Parenting style alone was found to be predictive of parent perceptions of play. Parents high in authoritative parenting reported higher valuation of play for the purposes of child

development, whereas authoritarian and permissive parenting styles were less likely to value play as an important contributor to child development. Additionally, parents with authoritarian and permissive parenting styles had less permissive mindsets toward cross-gender play and viewed make-believe and rough and tumble play as gender-typed play activities. The finding that permissive parenting style was associated with less accepting mindsets toward cross-gender play is surprising. Permissive parents are characterized by high responsiveness, which might assume more accepting attitudes toward gender-typed play. For this sample, these findings could be explained by the fact that on average, fathers were higher in permissive parenting than mothers. In addition, fathers in this sample were more likely to hold traditional gender role attitudes than were mothers. Thus, it may be that the fathers who had a permissive parenting style were also more likely to have traditional gender role attitudes. Fathers with traditional gender role attitudes showed lower valuation of play for child development and less permissive attitudes toward cross-gender play. Consequently, it may be that fathers' gender role attitudes are influencing attitudes toward play, rather than characteristics of a permissive parenting style.

Authoritative and authoritarian parenting styles were the only main variables correlated with parent play behaviors. Authoritative parents reported engaging in more play with their children, while authoritarian parents reported engaging in less overall play behaviors. These findings suggest that parents with an authoritative parenting style may be more likely to engage in play more frequently with their children than parents who have either an authoritative or permissive parenting style. This is an important finding because previous research has established that authoritative parenting contributes to securely attached children. In addition, the play literature supports parent child play as a facilitator of secure attachment (e.g., Kerns & Barth, 1995; Kiser et al., 1986; Slade, 1987). Thus, the present study suggests that parents with an authoritative

parenting style may facilitate secure attachment with their children through play more than parents who have either an authoritarian or permissive parenting style.

While parent attitudes are one contributor to parent behavior (Areepattamannil, 2010; Mowder, 2005), it is well established that attitudes are not the only predictor of parent behavior (Brody et al., 1999; Holden & Edwards, 1989). The present study found correlations between parent valuation of play and the amount of time parents spent playing with their children. Overall, parents with a higher valuation of play reported more play behaviors with their children. This is may be supported by Holmes' (2011) findings that parents who found play important for children's development also believed that parents should play with their children, further suggesting that parent attitudes toward play are important.

Additionally, the present study found that parents with a higher valuation of play also had more permissive attitudes toward cross-gender play, were more likely to view physically rough and make-believe play permissible for both boys and girls, and reported higher engagement in cross-gender play with their daughters. Interestingly, the only parent play behavior not correlated with a higher valuation of play was make-believe play with sons. Perhaps parents are more likely to play with their sons in physically rough ways regardless of their gender role attitudes about gender typed play. This finding would be consistent with findings from previous research suggesting that parent-son dyads, particularly father-son dyads, more often engage in physically rough play (Jacklin et al., 1984; Lindsey & Mize, 2001; Lindsey, Mize, & Pettit, 1997a; Lindsey, Mize, & Pettit, 1997b ; MacDonald & Parke, 1984). It is important to keep in mind that research also indicates that parent-child play interactions may be contextually based, a factor unaccounted for in this study. Parents have been found to interact with their children differently based the context of the interaction (Lindsey & Mize, 2001). Fathers are more likely

to use power assertions with boys and be more egalitarian in their play with daughters while using more assertive play strategies with their sons. This may also explain the correlational finding in the present study that mothers reported engaging in more physically rough play with daughters than did fathers. In addition, it is possible that parents' attitudes toward play and their play behaviors are influenced by their child's reaction to certain kinds of play. For example, it may be that fathers perceive their daughters to enjoy make-believe play more than physically rough play, and therefore may engage in more make-believe play with their daughter.

Another noteworthy finding of this study is that egalitarian attitudes did not correlate with higher parent engagement in play. It was hypothesized that egalitarian parents would engage in more cross-gender play with their sons and daughters because of a higher valuation of play and more permissive mindsets toward cross-gender play. While egalitarian parents did report a higher valuation of play and expressed more permissive mindsets toward cross-gender play, it did not seemingly influence their play behaviors with their children. Perhaps this could be explained by research suggesting that attitudes are better predictors of behavior when they are more closely associated with the specific behavior and more relevant to behavioral outcomes. In a meta-analysis, Glasman and Albarracin, (2006) surmised there to be several indicators that increase behavioral relevance in attitudes. The attitude-behavior connection has been found to be stronger when an individual's values and attitudes are more closely associated with a behavior. Additionally, the more highly correlated attitudes and beliefs about behavioral outcomes are the more likely individuals are to believe these behaviors to be important and behave accordingly. For example, if parents value social competence and also believe that parent-child play will increase their child's social skills they may be more likely to play with their children. The abovementioned findings also support the theory of reasoned action (Ajzen

& Fishbein, 1980), which asserts that the connection between attitudes and cognitions about how a behavior will effect an outcome is an important predictor of behavior. In the present study, authoritative attitudes were correlated with higher play engagement. Authoritative attitudes are more specifically related to parenting behaviors and child developmental outcomes. Of all of the parenting styles, authoritative is highest in valuation of both teaching conformity to societal and familial norms and maintaining high parent-child attunement through respecting a child's unique needs, desires, and individuality. In this study, authoritative parents both valued play for its developmental contributions and were more likely to believe that cross-gender play was acceptable. On the other hand, egalitarian attitudes are not specific to parenting behavior, but more so to how boys and girls should behave in social roles. Egalitarian attitudes did correlate with more permissive mindsets toward cross-gender play in this study, demonstrating consistency in attitudes as cross-gender play and egalitarian attitudes are closely related.

Implications

The results of the current study partially confirm the proposed hypotheses. The findings also support and add to the existing body of literature regarding egalitarian parenting, parenting style, and perceptions of play. It was found that parents with either egalitarian gender role attitudes or authoritative parenting styles reported higher valuation of play. These parents not only valued play more but had more permissive mindsets toward cross-gender play, corroborating findings by Morris (2013) with a cohort of mothers. Additionally the present study found that when parents held egalitarian attitudes, there were no differences between mothers' and fathers' valuation of play. This finding is supported by previous findings that both mothers and fathers with egalitarian gender role attitudes have less gender-typed expectancies (Coltrane 2000; Riina and Feinberg, 2012). Additionally, authoritative parents who valued play

more for child development self-reported engaging in more play with their children. Out of all of the variables of interest, authoritative parenting was the only style correlated to higher engagement in play behaviors with children while authoritarian parenting was correlated with less parent-child play. Previous research sheds light on these findings as positive parenting beliefs toward play have been found to impact child play time (Fisher et al., 2008). Therefore, the current findings suggest that parents with authoritative parenting are likely to be more playful with their children and may contribute to more equal gender role development through engaging with their children in cross-gender play.

In contrast, parents with traditional gender role attitudes were more disapproving of cross-gender play. In addition, fathers specifically had lower valuation of play for its contributions to overall child development. These findings add to the previous body of knowledge and suggests that fathers are more likely than mothers to be influenced by gender role attitudes and therefore may perpetrate gender-typed play with their children more often than mothers (Jacklin et al., 1984; Lindsey & Mize, 2001; MacDonald & Parke, 1984). In further support of Morris' (2013) findings, parents with an authoritarian parenting style were also less accepting of cross-gender play and more likely to ascribe masculine qualities to physically rough play and feminine qualities to make-believe play. Thus, it is plausible that parents with traditional gender role attitudes or an authoritarian or permissive parenting style may either inadvertently or intentionally perpetuate more traditional gender roles on their children through their beliefs about play and appropriate gender-typed play.

While gender role attitudes influenced parent perceptions and valuation of play, it did not correlate with overall parent play behaviors. This finding means that while egalitarian gender role attitudes did predict a more permissive mindset toward cross-gender play, it did not

correspond with higher parent-child play in cross-gender play activities. Similarly, traditional gender role attitudes predicted a less permissive mindset toward cross-gender play; however, these attitudes did not correlate with lower parent engagement in cross-gender play. Thus gender role attitudes do influence parent's beliefs about child play but do not appear to correlate with parent play behaviors. Therefore, it appears that parent play behaviors may be influenced by factors other than general attitudes toward play.

Overall, these findings offer support for the hypothesis that parent gender role attitudes may contribute to gender role socialization through beliefs about play. It is firmly established that parenting attitudes and parenting style contribute to social and emotional development for children (Baumrind et al., 2010; Karavasilis et al., 2003). The belief that parents influence children's gender role development was supported by Freeman's (2007) conclusions that found that children believed that parents were less accepting of cross-gender play. Morris (2013) found that mothers are likely to communicate their beliefs about play to their children, suggesting parents are likely to share their opinions about gender appropriate play with their children thereby communicating their beliefs about social gender norms. The present study suggests that parents with either egalitarian gender role perspectives or an authoritative parenting style are likely to promote egalitarian gender role socialization through their child's play. On the other hand, parents with traditional gender role attitudes or either an authoritarian or permissive parenting style may contribute to traditional gender role socialization through play.

When considered through the lens of Social Learning Theory (Bandura, 1971), these findings have implications related specifically to child development and learning. Social Learning Theory posits that learning occurs through direct and observational experiences. Direct experiences in particular reinforce behaviors through reward and punishment and reinforce

behaviors that are successful responses to a given situation. Vygotsky's theory of development complements this theory by asserting that social and cultural interactions are paramount to child development (Louis, 2009). This theory purports that cognitive development is best facilitated in co-constructed interactions in which children develop problem solving and higher thinking abilities. Scaffolding (Wood, Bruner & Ross, 1976) a term often associated with Social Learning Theory defines these processes as interactions in which an expert provides a learner with direction, and supports learning through modeling situationally appropriate behaviors and providing encouragement. The process of scaffolding is believed to enhance independent thought and improve problem solving abilities. Based on the findings of this study, authoritative parents appear to be more likely to provide scaffolding to their children through play. This is significant because play is established as being an important modality of learning for children and thereby, an important contributor to child development (e.g., Janz et al., 2000; Lindsey & Colwell 2003; Memmert et al., 2010; Pica, 2003; Woolf, 2011). Many would even argue that play is the preferred modality through which children learn (e.g., Brown, 2010). Thus, parent-child play provides a unique opportunity for parents to engage in a meaningful developmental process with their children and shape their child's understanding of the world in a way that can profoundly contribute to their worldview.

Other than offering partial support for the proposed theoretical model for this study, these findings have important implications for clinical practice among family and child psychologists. The results of this study suggest that parents with egalitarian gender role perspectives or an authoritative parent style may be more likely to see the value of using play as a therapeutic intervention with their children. Additionally, because authoritative parents may play more often with their children they might also be more amenable to engaging in play therapy interventions

with their child. These parents, no matter the gender, may inherently have more buy-in during the initial stages of treatment. On the other hand, fathers with traditional gender role expectations may have more difficulty understanding the value of play therapies. It may be more helpful to spend extra time explaining the underpinnings of play therapies and describing possible therapeutic outcomes. The same would be true of fathers with both a traditional gender role perspective and either an authoritarian or permissive mindset. In working with father with these attitudes and parenting style, clinicians should mindfully explore father's attitudes toward play and play practices with their children. Utilizing, examples about how play will contribute to their child's social, emotional, cognitive and physical development may improve fathers understanding of this important childhood work. Expanding father's knowledge of these matters and modeling adult interactions in play could increase secure attachment between fathers and their child.

In addition, it may be especially important for therapists who utilize family play therapies, such as Filial Therapy or Parent-Child Interaction Therapy, to be aware that mothers and fathers with traditional gender role attitudes may be less accepting of their children engaging in cross-gender play. In these cases, the therapist may want to have a discussion with parents during the initial stages of therapy to discuss their attitudes about cross-gender play and how they might react to these kinds of play situations during therapy sessions. Intentionally, engaging conversations about how play serves as a language through which children process their experiences may help parents refine their more general beliefs and facilitate more of an openness to cross-gender play. Overall, case conceptualizations that take into account parents' gender role attitudes and parenting style will likely be more culturally appropriate, thereby leading to more effective implementation of therapeutic interventions and models of parent

education. Finally, it is important to acknowledge that the present study only explore active parenting styles characterized by demandingness and/or responsiveness. Thus, these findings do not provide clinical utility for working with parents with a disengaged style of parenting as this style cannot be consistently defined by either of these characteristics.

In addition to the clinical implications of these findings, it is important to consider how community based interventions promote play to parents. In the present study, parents with an authoritative parenting style were more likely to spend time playing with their children. While authoritative parenting was not correlated to particular gender attitudes it was correlated to education. This suggests that parents with more education were more likely to have an authoritative parenting style. Therefore, critically evaluating the kinds of educational parent messages used when promoting play may be crucial to expanding parent knowledge about the importance of play for their children's social, emotional, physical, and cognitive development. In this study, parent attitudes that were more closely associated with parent behavior were also positively correlated with parent play behaviors. Parents with a higher valuation of play for child development and more accepting attitudes toward cross-gender play, were higher in a parenting style which balances responsiveness and demandingness. These kinds of parents also reported playing with their children more often. Therefore, using parent messages that increase understanding of why play is important for child development and how parent play behaviors greatly contribute to overall learning as well as improve child developmental outcomes may improve parent valuation of play as well as parent engagement in play.

Limitations

Although there was partial support for the hypotheses of the theoretical model, a discussion of the limitations of the study's research design is warranted. First, this study was

conducted through an online survey. It is impossible to confirm that all of the eligibility criteria were met thus, limiting internal validity. Selection bias is a potential limit to external validity, as parents interested in the variables of interest may have self-selected to participate in the study, thereby precluding that the sample was representative of the general population. Additionally, due to the use of Qualtrics research panels to recruit more males for the study, a majority of the fathers in the study were provided an incentive. Thus, the incentive for participation for a majority of the male sample for this study was greater than that for females which could further contribute to selection bias. While this may be a limitation in the study, analyses demonstrated that the independent parent samples did not differ significantly. The only significant difference between the mother and father cohorts were age and employment. The significant age difference was mostly accounted for by three outliers who were significantly older than the mean or median age. Additionally in a Western sample such as the one in the present study, it would be expected that fathers would have a higher rate of employment than mothers. Secondly, while there are many benefits to using self-report data and research, there are also known limitations (Singleton & Straits, 2010). Self-report data can limit internal validity as it is more likely to yield inaccurate self-reporting caused by recall bias, social desirability bias, and errors in self-observation. Consequently, there are several factors that can contribute to measurement error to include a respondent's lack of truthfulness and ability to recall past events accurately. Additionally, self-report data relies only on reports of behaviors rather than observations. Future research should incorporate observation methodologies in order to measure parent-child play rather than relying solely on parent self-reports to provide data on parent behaviors. This finding could also inform how child reactions to play influences parent attitudes and behaviors. Third, the present sample is primarily comprised of heterosexual, Caucasian males and females and

lacking in ethnic and sexual orientation diversity, thereby, limiting the external validity of this study. Future research should be conducted to explore parent attitudes toward play in minority populations. Finally, there are limitations to cross-sectional data as this method of collecting data only provides information about one point in time rather than changes over time, which can be predictive of cause and effect. In addition, the present study used correlational analyses to explore the relationships between the variables of interest and the parent play behavior variables. Correlations suggest only associations between two variables and not cause and effect.

Therefore, causal conclusions cannot be drawn from this study. Thus, there may be unaccounted variables that help explain the theoretical model in the present study. For example, this study did not account for part time parenting such as divorced parents who only parent their child part time thereby interfering with how often they might be able to play with their children. Future research should focus on refining our understanding of this construct by exploring other specific parent attitudes about gender and play. For example, exploring specific attitudes related to parent play behaviors and how these might influence, or be influenced by, parent gender role attitudes and parent gender would continue to inform our understanding of what factors contribute to parents playing with their children. Utilizing inventories that explore gender schemas would expand research beyond explorations of only binary gender typologies providing a more refined understanding of how parent sex-typed ideals influence their parenting attitudes. Additionally, parents who indicated that spirituality was important to them were less likely to have permissive mindsets toward cross-gendered play and more likely to have more traditional gender role attitudes. It could be helpful to examine how particular religious beliefs influence specific gender attitudes and how specific parent attitudes and behaviors toward play may be influenced. Furthermore, there may be aspects of parenting style which influence perceptions of

play and parent play behavior more than others. Future research should look more closely at the dimensions of warmth and/or demandingness in order to better understand how each may be associated with parent beliefs about play and resulting play behaviors and how, if at all, these factors may be influenced by culture. Refining our understanding of these concepts in future research would continue to expand this body of knowledge and provide practitioners with greater understanding as to how to work with parents around these issues.

Conclusion

The overall findings of this study suggest that parent gender role attitudes are predictive of parent valuation of play and mindsets toward cross-gender play. Parenting style was predictive of this relationship for fathers with traditional gender role perspectives. As found in the literature however, parents with egalitarian gender role perspectives seem to have more permissive mindsets toward gender-typed play. While egalitarian parents had a higher valuation of play and more permissive mindsets toward cross-gendered play, there was not a significant correlation between these gender role attitudes and parent play behavior. These findings indicate that gender role attitudes are likely to influence parents' attitudes toward how children should play, and therefore might impact how they allow or encourage their children to play thus influencing gender socialization. However these attitudes do not correlate with parent play behavior which would influence socialization through parent-child play. Parenting style was predictive of parent attitudes toward play as well as correlated with parent play behavior. Parents with an authoritative parenting style were more likely to value play, and engage in more play behaviors with their children whereas authoritarian parents were less likely to value play and engaged in less play behavior. These findings suggest that parenting style may influence both attitudes toward play and play behaviors.

The overall results of this study suggest that understanding parents' gender role attitudes and parenting style may be helpful in tailoring parent education about child play in order to teach parents how play supports their child's development. Such an approach may increase the likelihood that parents will support play as developmentally necessary for development and increase their engagement in play with their children. These findings may be especially relevant to mental health practitioners who utilize play therapies in child and family therapy and hope to gain parent participation in therapy. In addition to the practical implications, this study expands our theoretical understanding about how parent attitudes influence their perceptions of child play. Gender role attitudes in particular appear to have a direct effect on parent valuation of play for development and attitudes toward certain types of child play. In addition, it appears that certain parent characteristics, demandingness and responsiveness, may influence parent play behaviors. Future research should continue to expand this understanding through studying specific parent attitudes toward parent-child play and the effect on parent behaviors. Overall, the findings from this study suggest that gender role attitudes and parenting styles both influence parent perceptions of play and that parent attitudes more closely linked with parent behaviors may contribute to the frequency of parent play behaviors. Using these findings to inform professionals' work with parents may increase parent appreciation for and valuation of play, which may also improve child developmental outcomes.

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Appendix A

Web Addresses for Social Networking Sites for Recruitment

www.Facebook.com
www.Myspace.com
www.Craigslist.com
www.Alaskaslist.com
www.Twitter.com
www.LinkedIn.com
www.CafeMom.com
www.TheKnot.com
www.TheNest.com
www.TheBump.com
www.TheCradle.com
www.PluggedInParents.com
www.KidFriendlyGuide.com
www.TotSpot.com
www.RaisingThem.com
www.MotherhoodLater.com
www.Babble.com
www.TheFamilyGroove.com
www.TheGreenParent.com
www.Fatherhood.org
www.Fatherapprentice.com
www.DaddysToolBox.com
www.Dads4Life.org

Appendix B

Advertisement for Participation.

Are you a parent 18 years or older with both a son and daughter between the ages of 2 and 10? Would you like to take part in a survey about what parents believe about children's play? If you choose to take this survey, you will be asked questions about what you think about play and how you play with your children. The survey will take about 20 minutes to complete.

The purpose of this study is to understand how parents play with their children and what they believe about play. This study also looks into how parents think boys and girls should play. This study will help us better understand what parents think about play and how they encourage their children to play. If you would like to take the survey, please visit the following link to enter the anonymous survey site.

For questions about the study contact Kendra Campbell who is the Principal Investigator. Her email address is kendra.campbell@alaska.edu. Courtney Horwath, the student researcher, can also answer questions. She can be reached at cmhorwath@alaska.edu. Please contact the University of Alaska Fairbanks Institutional Review Board at uaf-irb@alaska.edu if you have questions about your rights as a participant.

Thank you!

Link:

Appendix C

Informed Consent.

Dear Participant,

You have been invited to take a survey about parenting and children's play, because you are at least 18 years old and have both a son and daughter between the ages of 2 and 10. This study is put on by the University of Alaska Fairbanks. You may not take this survey if another parent in your home has already taken it. The purpose of this study is to understand how parents play with their children and what they believe about play. This study also looks into how parents think boys and girls should play. This study will help us better understand what parents think about play and how they encourage their children to play.

If you take this survey, you will be asked questions about how you play with your children and what you believe about play. You will also be asked questions about how you think boys and girls should be treated. It will take about 20 minutes to finish the survey. It is your choice to participate in this study. You may choose to skip any question in the survey or stop at any time.

Taking this survey does not involve any risks beyond those and you would come across in everyday life. Your participation is anonymous. You will not be asked for your name or other identifying information for this study. No one but the research team will have access to your data. The data will be stored in a locked and secure office.

For questions about the study contact Dr. Kendra Campbell who is the principal investigator. Her email address is kendra.campbell@alaska.edu. Courtney Horwath who is the student researcher can also answer questions. She can be reached at cmhorwath@alaska.edu.

Please contact the University of Alaska Fairbanks Institutional Review Board at uaf-irb@alaska.edu if you have questions about your rights as a participant.

Thank you,

Kendra Campbell, Ph.D.
Principal Investigator
kendra.campbell@alaska.edu

Appendix D

Email Invitations Script

Greetings Parents!

You have been invited to be a part of a research study about parenting sponsored by the University of Alaska Fairbanks. You are invited to take this survey if you are a parent 18 years or older, with both a son and daughter between the ages of 2 and 10. If you agree to agree to take the survey, you will be asked questions about how you think boys and girls should be treated, how you play with your children, what you believe about play, and how you think boys and girls should play. The survey will take about 20 minutes to complete.

The purpose of this study is to understand how parents play with their children and what they believe about play. This study also looks into how parents think boys and girls should play. This study will help us better understand what parents think about play and how they encourage their children to play. If you would like to take part in this study, please visit the following link to enter the survey site. Only one parent per household may take the survey.

For questions about the study contact Dr. Kendra Campbell, the Principal Investigator. Her email address is kendra.campbell@alaska.edu. Courtney Horwath, the student researcher, can also answer questions. She can be reached at cmhorwath@alaska.edu. Please contact the University of Alaska Fairbanks Institutional Review Board at uaf-irb@alaska.edu if you have questions about your rights as a participant.

Thank you!

Link:

Appendix E

Demographic Questions.

1. Age: (enter number)
2. Gender: M F
3. Race/Ethnicity: (Select all that apply): Hispanic/ Latino, White/ Caucasian, Black/ African American, Native Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander, Asian, American Indian or Alaska Native, Other (enter)
4. Intimate partner status: Married, Single, Divorced, Widowed, Remarried, Cohabiting
5. Do you consider yourself to be: Heterosexual or straight, Gay or Lesbian, Bisexual, Other
7. Age(s) of children: (enter age[s])
8. Gender(s) of children: M (enter number) F (enter number)
9. How long have you been a parent? (Enter number of years)
10. Number of parents in home: (enter number)
11. Employment status: Employed fulltime, Employed part-time, Unemployed
12. (If employed): Type of employment/ job title (enter):
13. Employment status of partner (if present) or other adults in home: Employed fulltime, Employed part-time, Unemployed
14. (If partner is employed): Type of employment/ job title (enter):
15. Area of residence: Urban, Suburban, Rural
16. Level of Education: completed some high school, high school graduate, completed some college, associate degree, bachelor's degree, completed some post graduate, master's degree, doctoral degree or other advanced degree beyond

a master's degree

17. Approximate yearly household salary: Less than 25,000, 25,000-34,999,
35,000-49,999, 50,000-74,999, 74,000- 99,999, 100,000-149,000, 150,000 or
more

18. Is spirituality or religion important to you? Yes or No

If Yes please choose one: Christian, Native American, Judaism, Islam,
Hindu, Buddhist, Other

Appendix F

Debriefing Script.

Thank you for taking our survey! This study will help us understand what parents think about play. It will also tell us about how they encourage their children to play.

For questions about the study contact Dr. Kendra Campbell who is the principal investigator. Her email address is kendra.campbell@alaska.edu. Courtney Horwath who is the student researcher can also answer questions. Her email address is cmhorwath@alaska.edu.

Contact the University of Alaska Fairbanks Institutional Review Board at uaf-irb@alaska.edu if you have questions about your rights as a participant. If you are feeling upset and would like help please call the NAMI. The helpline number is (800) 950-6264.

Appendix G

Gender Role Measures

Traditional-Egalitarian Sex-Role Scale (Larsen & Long, 1988)

Please rate how strongly you disagree or agree with each of the following statements by ticking the appropriate response.

1. It is just as important to educate daughters as it is to educate sons.

Strongly agree ☐ agree ☐ undecided ☐ disagree ☐ strongly disagree ☐

***2. Women should be more concerned with clothing and appearance than men.**

Strongly agree ☐ agree ☐ undecided ☐ disagree ☐ strongly disagree ☐

3. Women should have as much sexual freedom as men.

Strongly agree ☐ agree ☐ undecided ☐ disagree ☐ strongly disagree ☐

***4. The man should be more responsible for economic support of the family than the woman.**

Strongly agree ☐ agree ☐ undecided ☐ disagree ☐ strongly disagree ☐

5. The belief that women cannot make as good supervisors or executives as man is a myth.

Strongly agree ☐ agree ☐ undecided ☐ disagree ☐ strongly disagree ☐

6. The word “obey” should be removed from wedding vows.

Strongly agree ☐ agree ☐ undecided ☐ disagree ☐ strongly disagree ☐

***7. Ultimately a woman should submit to her husband’s decisions.**

Strongly agree ☐ agree ☐ undecided ☐ disagree ☐ strongly disagree ☐

***8. Some equality in marriage is good but by and large the husband ought to have the main say-so in family matters.**

Strongly agree ☐ agree ☐ undecided ☐ disagree ☐ strongly disagree ☐

9. Having a job is just as important for a wife as it is for her husband.

Strongly agree ☐ agree ☐ undecided ☐ disagree ☐ strongly disagree ☐

***10. In groups that have both male and female members, it is more appropriate that leadership positions be held by males.**

Strongly agree ☐ agree ☐ undecided ☐ disagree ☐ strongly disagree ☐

***11. I would not allow my son to play with dolls.**

Strongly agree ☐ agree ☐ undecided ☐ disagree ☐ strongly disagree ☐

12. Having a challenging job or career is as important as being a wife and mother.

Strongly agree ☐ agree ☐ undecided ☐ disagree ☐ strongly disagree ☐

***13. Men make better leaders.**

Strongly agree ☐ agree ☐ undecided ☐ disagree ☐ strongly disagree ☐

***14. Almost any woman is better off in her home than in a job or profession.**

Strongly agree ☐ agree ☐ undecided ☐ disagree ☐ strongly disagree ☐

***15. A woman's place is in the home.**

Strongly agree ☐ agree ☐ undecided ☐ disagree ☐ strongly disagree ☐

***16. The role of teaching in the elementary schools belongs to women.**

Strongly agree ☐ agree ☐ undecided ☐ disagree ☐ strongly disagree ☐

17. The changing of diapers is the responsibility of both parents.

Strongly agree ☐ agree ☐ undecided ☐ disagree ☐ strongly disagree ☐

***18. Men who cry have weak character.**

Strongly agree ☐ agree ☐ undecided ☐ disagree ☐ strongly disagree ☐

19. A man who has chosen to stay at home and be a house husband is not less masculine.

Strongly agree ☐ agree ☐ undecided ☐ disagree ☐ strongly disagree ☐

***20. As head of the household the father should have the final authority over the children.**

Strongly agree ☐ agree ☐ undecided ☐ disagree ☐ strongly disagree ☐

*** Reverse weights for these items**

Appendix G

Gender Role Measures

Child-Rearing Sex-Role Attitudes Scale (adapted from Burge, 1981, found in Freeman, 2007)

Please rate how strongly you disagree or agree with each of the following statements by ticking the appropriate response.

1. Both boys and girls really need to develop social skills.

Strongly agree ☐ agree ☐ undecided ☐ disagree ☐ strongly disagree ☐

***2. Only boys should be permitted to play competitive sports.**

Strongly agree ☐ agree ☐ undecided ☐ disagree ☐ strongly disagree ☐

***3. Quiet girls will have a happier life than assertive girls.**

Strongly agree ☐ agree ☐ undecided ☐ disagree ☐ strongly disagree ☐

***4. It is only healthy for boys to cry when they have been hurt.**

Strongly agree ☐ agree ☐ undecided ☐ disagree ☐ strongly disagree ☐

***5. I would discourage my son from saying that he wants to be a nurse that he grows up.**

Strongly agree ☐ agree ☐ undecided ☐ disagree ☐ strongly disagree ☐

6. I would buy my son and daughter the same kind of toys.

Strongly agree ☐ agree ☐ undecided ☐ disagree ☐ strongly disagree ☐

***7. Boys who exhibit sissy behaviors will never be well-adjusted.**

Strongly agree ☐ agree ☐ undecided ☐ disagree ☐ strongly disagree ☐

***8. Girls who are tomboys will never be well-adjusted.**

Strongly agree ☐ agree ☐ undecided ☐ disagree ☐ strongly disagree ☐

***9. Parents should set a different behavior standard for boys and girls.**

Strongly agree ☐ agree ☐ undecided ☐ disagree ☐ strongly disagree ☐

***10. I feel upset when I see boys put on a dress when they play dress-up.**

Strongly agree ☐ agree ☐ undecided ☐ disagree ☐ strongly disagree ☐

11. I would buy my son a doll.

Strongly agree ☐ agree ☐ undecided ☐ disagree ☐ strongly disagree ☐

***12. I would not hire a male babysitter.**

Strongly agree ☐ agree ☐ undecided ☐ disagree ☐ strongly disagree ☐

***13. Boys, more than girls, need competitive skills.**

Strongly agree ☐ agree ☐ undecided ☐ disagree ☐ strongly disagree ☐

***14. A parent who would pay for ballet lessons for a son is asking for trouble.**

Strongly agree ☐ agree ☐ undecided ☐ disagree ☐ strongly disagree ☐

***15. I would be more willing to borrow money to send a son to college than a daughter.**

Strongly agree ☐ agree ☐ undecided ☐ disagree ☐ strongly disagree ☐

***16. I would be upset if my daughter wanted to play Little League baseball.**

Strongly agree ☐ agree ☐ undecided ☐ disagree ☐ strongly disagree ☐

17. Girls should be encouraged to play with building blocks and toy trucks.

Strongly agree ☐ agree ☐ undecided ☐ disagree ☐ strongly disagree ☐

18. Math and science are as necessary for girls as boys.

Strongly agree ☐ agree ☐ undecided ☐ disagree ☐ strongly disagree ☐

***19. I would feel disappointed if my daughter acted like a tomboy.**

Strongly agree ☐ agree ☐ undecided ☐ disagree ☐ strongly disagree ☐

*** Reverse weights for these items**

Appendix H

Parenting Styles Questionnaire.

The Parenting Styles and Dimensions Questionnaire (Robinson et al., 2001)

Please rate how strongly you disagree or agree with each of the following statements by ticking the appropriate response.

Authoritative items

(Warmth & Involvement)

1. I know the names of my child's friends.

always ☐ often ☐ sometimes ☐ rarely ☐ never ☐

2. I am aware of problems or concerns about my child in school.

always ☐ often ☐ sometimes ☐ rarely ☐ never ☐

3. I give my child praise when he/she is good.

always ☐ often ☐ sometimes ☐ rarely ☐ never ☐

4. I give my child comfort and understanding when he/she is upset.

always ☐ often ☐ sometimes ☐ rarely ☐ never ☐

5. I express affection by hugging, kissing, and holding my child.

always ☐ often ☐ sometimes ☐ rarely ☐ never ☐

6. I show sympathy when my child is hurt or frustrated.

always ☐ often ☐ sometimes ☐ rarely ☐ never ☐

7. I tell my child I appreciate what he/she tries or accomplishes.

always ☐ often ☐ sometimes ☐ rarely ☐ never ☐

8. I am responsive to my child's feelings or needs.

always ☐ often ☐ sometimes ☐ rarely ☐ never ☐

9. I encourage my child to talk about his/her troubles.

always ☐ often ☐ sometimes ☐ rarely ☐ never ☐

10. I have warm and intimate times with my child.

always ☐ often ☐ sometimes ☐ rarely ☐ never ☐

11. I apologize to my child when I make mistakes in parenting.

always ☐ often ☐ sometimes ☐ rarely ☐ never ☐

(Reasoning/Induction)

12. I explain the consequences of my child's behavior to him/her.

always ☐ often ☐ sometimes ☐ rarely ☐ never ☐

13. I explain why my child should obey rules.

always ☐ often ☐ sometimes ☐ rarely ☐ never ☐

14. I emphasize the reasons for rules with my child.

always ☐ often ☐ sometimes ☐ rarely ☐ never ☐

15. I help my child understand the impact of his/her behavior by encouraging him/her to talk about the consequences of his/her own actions.

always ☐ often ☐ sometimes ☐ rarely ☐ never ☐

16. I explain how I feel about my child's good and bad behavior.

always ☐ often ☐ sometimes ☐ rarely ☐ never ☐

17. I talk it over and reason with my child when he/she misbehaves.

always ☐ often ☐ sometimes ☐ rarely ☐ never ☐

18. I tell my child what my expectations are regarding behavior before he/she engages in an activity.

always ☐ often ☐ sometimes ☐ rarely ☐ never ☐

(Democratic Participation)

19. I take my child's preferences into account in making family plans.

always ☐ often ☐ sometimes ☐ rarely ☐ never ☐

20. I allow my child to give input into family rules.

always ☐ often ☐ sometimes ☐ rarely ☐ never ☐

21. I take my child's desires into account before asking him/her to do something.

always ☐ often ☐ sometimes ☐ rarely ☐ never ☐

22. I encourage my child to freely express himself/herself even when disagreeing with me.

always ☐ often ☐ sometimes ☐ rarely ☐ never ☐

23. I tried to channel my child's misbehavior into a more acceptable activity.

always ☐ often ☐ sometimes ☐ rarely ☐ never ☐

(Good-Natured/Easy-Going)

24. I am easy-going and relaxed with my child.

always ☐ often ☐ sometimes ☐ rarely ☐ never ☐

25. I am patient with my child.

always ☐ often ☐ sometimes ☐ rarely ☐ never ☐

26. I joke and play with my child.

always ☐ often ☐ sometimes ☐ rarely ☐ never ☐

27. I encourage my child to express his/her opinions.

always ☐ often ☐ sometimes ☐ rarely ☐ never ☐

Authoritarian items

(Verbal Hostility)

28. I get very angry with my child.

always ☐ often ☐ sometimes ☐ rarely ☐ never ☐

29. I yell or shout when my child misbehaves.

always ☐ often ☐ sometimes ☐ rarely ☐ never ☐

30. I argue with my child.

always ☐ often ☐ sometimes ☐ rarely ☐ never ☐

31. I disagree with my child.

always ☐ often ☐ sometimes ☐ rarely ☐ never ☐

(Corporal Punishment)

32. I use physical punishment to discipline my child.

always ☐ often ☐ sometimes ☐ rarely ☐ never ☐

33. I spank my child when he/she is disobedient.

always ☐ often ☐ sometimes ☐ rarely ☐ never ☐

34. I slap my child when he/she misbehaves.

always ☐ often ☐ sometimes ☐ rarely ☐ never ☐

35. I grab my child when he/she is disobedient.

always ☐ often ☐ sometimes ☐ rarely ☐ never ☐

36. I use punishment more than reason when my child misbehaves.

always ☐ often ☐ sometimes ☐ rarely ☐ never ☐

37. I shove my child when he/she is disobedient.

always ☐ often ☐ sometimes ☐ rarely ☐ never ☐

(Non-Reasoning, Punitive Strategies)

38. When my child misbehaves I punish him/her by taking away privileges with little or no explanation for the punishment.

always ☐ often ☐ sometimes ☐ rarely ☐ never ☐

39. When my child misbehaves I punish him/her by putting him/her alone in timeout with little or no explanation.

always ☐ often ☐ sometimes ☐ rarely ☐ never ☐

40. I used threats as punishment with little or no justification.

always ☐ often ☐ sometimes ☐ rarely ☐ never ☐

41. When two children are fighting I discipline the children first and ask questions later.

always ☐ often ☐ sometimes ☐ rarely ☐ never ☐

42. My feelings are more important than my child's feelings.

always ☐ often ☐ sometimes ☐ rarely ☐ never ☐

43. When my child asks why he/she has to obey, I state: because I said so, or I am your parent and I want you to.

always ☐ often ☐ sometimes ☐ rarely ☐ never ☐

(Directivness)

44. I tell my child what to do.

always ☐ often ☐ sometimes ☐ rarely ☐ never ☐

45. I demand that my child does/do things.

always ☐ often ☐ sometimes ☐ rarely ☐ never ☐

46. I scold or criticize my child so they will make improvements.

always ☐ often ☐ sometimes ☐ rarely ☐ never ☐

47. I scold or criticize my child when he/she does not meet my expectations.

always ☐ often ☐ sometimes ☐ rarely ☐ never ☐

Permissive Items

(Lack of Follow-Through)

48. I tell my child I will punish him or her but do not follow through with the punishment.

always ☐ often ☐ sometimes ☐ rarely ☐ never ☐

49. I threaten my child with punishment more often than I punish him/her.

always ☐ often ☐ sometimes ☐ rarely ☐ never ☐

50. I spoil my child.

always ☐ often ☐ sometimes ☐ rarely ☐ never ☐

51. I give into my child when he/she causes a commotion about something.

always ☐ often ☐ sometimes ☐ rarely ☐ never ☐

***52. I follow through with discipline after my child misbehaves.**

always ☐ often ☐ sometimes ☐ rarely ☐ never ☐

53. I bribed my child with rewards so that he/she will obey.

always ☐ often ☐ sometimes ☐ rarely ☐ never ☐

(Ignoring Misbehavior)

54. I allow my child to interrupt others.

always ☐ often ☐ sometimes ☐ rarely ☐ never ☐

55. I allow my child to annoy others.

always ☐ often ☐ sometimes ☐ rarely ☐ never ☐

56. I ignore my child's misbehavior.

always ☐ often ☐ sometimes ☐ rarely ☐ never ☐

57. I do not scold and/or criticize my child even when he/she acts contrary to my wishes.

always ☐ often ☐ sometimes ☐ rarely ☐ never ☐

(Self-Confidence)

***58. I am confident about my parenting abilities.**

always ☐ often ☐ sometimes ☐ rarely ☐ never ☐

59. I am unsure how to solve my child's misbehavior.

always ☐ often ☐ sometimes ☐ rarely ☐ never ☐

60. I find it difficult to discipline my child.

always ☐ often ☐ sometimes ☐ rarely ☐ never ☐

***61. I set strict and well-established rules for my child.**

always ☐ often ☐ sometimes ☐ rarely ☐ never ☐

62. I'm afraid that disciplining my child for misbehavior will cause him/her to not like me.

always ☐ often ☐ sometimes ☐ rarely ☐ never ☐

*Reverse score items

Appendix I

Parent Play Beliefs.

Parent Play Beliefs Scale (Fogle and Mendez, 2006)

Please rate how strongly you disagree or agree with each of the following statements by ticking the appropriate response.

(Play Support)

1. Play can help my child develop better thinking abilities.

Strongly agree ☐ agree ☐ don't know/not sure ☐ disagree ☐ strongly disagree ☐

****2. Playing at home will help my child in school.**

Strongly agree ☐ agree ☐ don't know/not sure ☐ disagree ☐ strongly disagree ☐

3. I teach my child social skills during play.

Strongly agree ☐ agree ☐ don't know/not sure ☐ disagree ☐ strongly disagree ☐

4. If I take time to play with my child, s/he will be better at playing with others.

Strongly agree ☐ agree ☐ don't know/not sure ☐ disagree ☐ strongly disagree ☐

5. Through play, my child develops new skills and abilities.,

Strongly agree ☐ agree ☐ don't know/not sure ☐ disagree ☐ strongly disagree ☐

****6. Playing at school, will help my child in elementary school.**

Strongly agree ☐ agree ☐ don't know/not sure ☐ disagree ☐ strongly disagree ☐

7. Play helps my child learn to express his or her feelings.

Strongly agree ☐ agree ☐ don't know/not sure ☐ disagree ☐ strongly disagree ☐

8. Play can improve my child's language and communication abilities.

Strongly agree ☐ agree ☐ don't know/not sure ☐ disagree ☐ strongly disagree ☐

9. I can help my child learn to control his or her emotions during play.

Strongly agree ☐ agree ☐ don't know/not sure ☐ disagree ☐ strongly disagree ☐

10. Play can help my child develop social skills.

Strongly agree ☐ agree ☐ don't know/not sure ☐ disagree ☐ strongly disagree ☐

11. Playing together helps me build a good relationship with my child.

Strongly agree ☐ agree ☐ don't know/not sure ☐ disagree ☐ strongly disagree ☐

12. Playing with my child is one of my favorite things to do.

Strongly agree ☐ agree ☐ don't know/not sure ☐ disagree ☐ strongly disagree ☐

13. I have a lot of fun with my child when we play together.

Strongly agree ☐ agree ☐ don't know/not sure ☐ disagree ☐ strongly disagree ☐

14. Play is a fun activity for my child.

Strongly agree ☐ agree ☐ don't know/not sure ☐ disagree ☐ strongly disagree ☐

15. My child has a lot of fun when we play together.

Strongly agree ☐ agree ☐ don't know/not sure ☐ disagree ☐ strongly disagree ☐

16. My child will get more out of play if I play with him or her.

Strongly agree ☐ agree ☐ don't know/not sure ☐ disagree ☐ strongly disagree ☐

17. It is important for me to participate in play with my child.

Strongly agree ☐ agree ☐ don't know/not sure ☐ disagree ☐ strongly disagree ☐

(Academic support)

***18. I do not think my child learns important skills by playing.**

Strongly agree ☐ agree ☐ don't know/not sure ☐ disagree ☐ strongly disagree ☐

***19. Reading to my child is more worthwhile than playing with him or her.**

Strongly agree ☐ agree ☐ don't know/not sure ☐ disagree ☐ strongly disagree ☐

***20. I would rather read to my child in play together.**

Strongly agree ☐ agree ☐ don't know/not sure ☐ disagree ☐ strongly disagree ☐

***21. Playtime is not a high priority in my home.**

Strongly agree ☐ agree ☐ don't know/not sure ☐ disagree ☐ strongly disagree ☐

***22. Play does not influence my child's ability to solve problems.**

Strongly agree ☐ agree ☐ don't know/not sure ☐ disagree ☐ strongly disagree ☐

***23. It is more important for my child to have good academic skills than to play well with others.**

Strongly agree ☐ agree ☐ don't know/not sure ☐ disagree ☐ strongly disagree ☐

***24. I do not think it is important for other family members to play with my child.**

Strongly agree ☐ agree ☐ don't know/not sure ☐ disagree ☐ strongly disagree ☐

***25. Play does not help my child learn academic skills.**

Strongly agree ☐ agree ☐ don't know/not sure ☐ disagree ☐ strongly disagree ☐

**Modified to reflect age expansion of sample group.

*** Reverse weights for these items**

Appendix I

Parent Play Beliefs

Please rate your agreement with each statement.

- 1. Physical play (sports, wrestling, and chase) is important for children's development.**

Strongly agree ☐ agree ☐ undecided ☐ disagree ☐ strongly disagree ☐

- 2. Make-believe games help children develop social skills like politeness and cooperation.**

Strongly agree ☐ agree ☐ undecided ☐ disagree ☐ strongly disagree ☐

- 3. I think it is more important for boys to play rough (i.e. wrestling, climbing, physical sports) than it is for girls.**

Strongly agree ☐ agree ☐ undecided ☐ disagree ☐ strongly disagree ☐

- 4. Make-believe play is more appropriate for girls than boys.**

Strongly agree ☐ agree ☐ undecided ☐ disagree ☐ strongly disagree ☐

Please rate how often you perform each activity.

- 1. In the past week I played with my son(s)**

daily ☐ most days ☐ several times a week ☐ once a week ☐ not at all ☐

- 2. In the past week I played with my daughter(s)**

daily ☐ most days ☐ several times a week ☐ once a week ☐ not at all ☐

- 3. In the past week I physically played (i.e. tickling, wrestling, chase, played ball) with my son(s):**

daily ☐ most days ☐ several times a week ☐ once a week ☐ not at all ☐

- 4. In the past week I physically played (i.e. tickling, wrestling, chase, played ball) with my daughter(s):**

daily ☐ most days ☐ several times a week ☐ once a week ☐ not at all ☐

- 5. In the past week I played make-believe games with my son(s):**

daily ☐ most days ☐ several times a week ☐ once a week ☐ not at all ☐

- 6. In the past week I played make-believe games with my daughter(s):**

daily ☐ most days ☐ several times a week ☐ once a week ☐ not at all ☐

Adapted from Morris, 2013

- 1. Boys should be discouraged from playing with girls' toys and games.**
Strongly agree ☐ agree ☐ undecided ☐ disagree ☐ strongly disagree ☐
- 2. Girls should be discouraged from playing with boys' toys and games.**
Strongly agree ☐ agree ☐ undecided ☐ disagree ☐ strongly disagree ☐
- 3. Boys should only be encouraged to participate in boys' kinds of play activities.**
Strongly agree ☐ agree ☐ undecided ☐ disagree ☐ strongly disagree ☐
- 4. Girls should only be encouraged to only participate in girls' kinds of play activities.**
Strongly agree ☐ agree ☐ undecided ☐ disagree ☐ strongly disagree ☐